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Near East & South Asia

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REGIONAL

**Arab League Emissary to London Discusses
Palestine Situation**

45040110a Kuwait *AL-WATAN* in Arabic 5 Apr 88 p 14

[Interview with chief of Arab League delegation to London As'ad al-Muqaddam by Bari'ah 'Alam-al-Din: "1988 Will Not Be the Year of the Solution"]

[Text] Along with the group of Arab ambassadors to Britain, the former journalist and present head of the League of Arab States delegation to Britain, As'ad al-Muqaddam, represents the integrated Arab working team cooperating to establish the presence of a clear Arab viewpoint and defend Arab causes.

In spite of the brief time which has elapsed since the assignment of this position and role to our colleague As'ad al-Muqaddam, he has managed to achieve many positive, fruitful results in the context of the unremitting endeavor to correct the distorted picture of the Arabs in the minds of the British.

The talk with As'ad al-Muqaddam focused primarily on the political effect of the Palestinian uprising in the occupied Arab territories in decisionmaking circles in Britain and means for benefiting from the beginnings of the shift in European beliefs concerning the Palestine cause.

The talk also dealt with other issues, including the Iran-Iraq War and the plan for an international conference. Here are the minutes of the conversation:

Not Everything That Is Known Can Be Said

[Question] What benefits has the League of Arab States mission in Britain achieved from the Palestinian uprising politically and in terms of public opinion?

[Answer] First of all, not everything that is known can be said.

Second, in the context of the uprising, we have made political contacts through the League mission and the Arab League secretariat general and through the council of ambassadors of Arab countries in London. These contacts included Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, through the seven-man committee, since it discussed the situation in the occupied Arab territories before the outbreak of the Palestinian situation there—which we were sure in advance would erupt. We also held discussions with Foreign Minister Sir Geoffrey Howe, and with Minister of State for Foreign Affairs David Millor, and other officials in the British government.

This is in addition to contacts which were made with the parliamentary forces and parties of various orientations and the invitation of a substantial number of British

deputies and officials to visit the occupied Arab territories. Close to 20 figures have gone so far, and those of them who have returned so far have made statements supporting the Arab viewpoint and condemning the arbitrariness of the Israeli occupation.

In addition to all that, we and the council of Arab ambassadors in Britain agreed to produce a complete film about the uprising since its beginning, with all its background elements, and the league mission is preparing a photographic brochure telling what is going on on the West Bank and in Gaza in the words of British journalists in particular and Westerners in general, containing photographs which are considered live testimony to the activities of Israeli repression. This book will be a reference for the uprising which will be sent to all decisionmakers at levels of responsibility in Britain, from deputies to lords, ministers and so forth.

Some journalist colleagues wonder sometimes what the council of Arab ambassadors in London is doing to support Arab causes, and they have asked to hold weekly meetings with us to learn from us about the activities the council is carrying out, now that we have filled them in on Arab efforts which are being exerted and explained to them the magnitude and dimensions of these efforts.

The important thing is that we join hands and that we not allow ourselves to imagine for a moment that any party could default on or isolate the Palestine cause, because the cause is not the cause of the people of the Bank and the Strip alone, nor is it the cause of the Palestinians to the exclusion of others. Rather, it is the cause of us all. We are all Palestinians in this context and we are all the people of the occupied territories, and there is no room there for difference and dispute now, as happened in some previous periods of the history of the Palestinian people's struggle. The uprising has decided all disputes, all individual interpretations and all hesitation or spreading of doubt.

[Question] Will the film and book you referred to a short while ago be distributed in the capitals of Europe and America?

[Answer] Of course, and its texts will be translated into numerous languages. We are negotiating now with the European producer and director over specific conditions, among them to have the film in its entirety and all copies be our property.

The Financing of the Film

[Question] Who is financing the project of this film?

[Answer] The council of Arab ambassadors in Britain and the Arab League. That is the way it is supposed to be, and it is not high-cost, because the material for it is available.

A Shift in Public Opinion

[Question] What has been the actual effect of the uprising on British political and decisionmaking thought regarding the Palestine cause?

[Answer] For a long time Arab diplomacy has been and still is working to underline the importance of the Palestine cause and our right to regain everything that was wrested from us. Nonetheless the world conscience was not acting, and not just the British conscience, as it should have to help us realize our just, rightful goals.

However, when we in the occupied territories do something like the uprising of the West Bank, Golan and the Strip, the world conscience must act and restudy the situation in the light of what is happening on the ground.

I consider that the international community, which has neglected this cause for years and years, has started to wake up and consider that the problem still exists and requires a solution. This conviction has become prevalent in all areas, including the five major countries and the United States of America, the big stumbling block on the road to any solution Israel does not want.

Here, to Britain, which knows the Middle East region more than others, this is being recorded:

Its current feeling that it is necessary to come up with a solution to the Palestine cause.

It has become clear to the whole world that it is not the people of Palestine who want to throw Israel into the sea but it is Israel which threw the Palestinians out of the home and is throwing them onto the land and into the sea too. This clarity means in the language of politics that the Arabs and the Palestinians are not the obstacle on the road to the just settlement; indeed, the rejectionist, the obstacle and the obstinate party is Israel with its leaders such as Yitzhak Shamir, who is provoking the condemnation of the whole West because of his appeals for a lack of a solution.

The fact is that it is the British government that was the earliest to predict what would happen in the occupied territories before the uprising took place, when Minister Geoffrey Howe visited the Middle East and said that some movement would occur if the Palestine cause was not put on the road to a solution.

Therefore the position of British Minister David Millor regarding the occupied territories was not a personal or emotional one; rather, it was the position of the British society and the international position. We know that ministers in Britain do not act capriciously and whimsically; rather, they act in the context of an outlined collective policy and specific party programs. Minister David Millor, with whom we met after his return from the occupied Arab territories, is characterized by boldness not just in stating what he believes is true but also in

respect to directing criticism at anybody making a mistake, be it Israeli or Arab. He said the truth which he saw with his own eyes and said what he said in the light of his convictions and observations.

In this, he did not depart from the framework of the British political position.

The British government, with the capacity it has to study the affairs of the Middle East and the information it possesses, has become convinced that the dominant situation in Palestine, failing an international conference and in the absence of international attention to the cause, will lead to serious situations which threaten not just the peace of the Middle East but also the peace of the whole world, that a just final solution to the cause is necessary and that the practical translation of this inevitable state of affairs is embodied in the holding of an international conference.

Contacts With British Jews

[Question] Some Arab bodies have made indirect contacts with British Jews to invite them to condemn Israeli oppression. Do you have information about these contacts and do you have a role in them?

[Answer] The contacts which have taken place and are taking place with the abovementioned circles are not secret and no Arab body or entity has made contacts with Yitzhak Shamir, Shimon Peres, Rabin or Kahane or other leaders of the Israeli entity. The fact is that there are British Jews who sympathize with the Palestine cause in part and another segment which has not had such sympathy has come to suffer from a crisis of conscience after observing the details of the brutal Israeli repression which has been carried out against isolated civilians on the occupied Arab territories on television and the pages of the papers.

This segment of British Jews has come to believe that the Israel that exists is not the Israel that it believed had to come into existence and survive.

We on the British stage must first of all unify our forces.

This is actually happening. What is requested of us secondly is to bring friends together and intensify their efforts, and what is requested of us thirdly is to neutralize the enemies and win them over to our ranks so that we can gain weight by which we will paralyze their effectiveness so that none of them go to excess toward us. That is the platform on which you proceed and the results of this course to this day have been good.

[Question] Following the rounds which some Arab officials made recently between Europe and America, are there signs to indicate that the plan for an international conference will see the light of day?

[Answer] Officials, Arab and non-Arab, who are concerned with the Middle East crisis have not ignored and have not been deficient in terms of coming up with a just solution by holding an international conference, but the problem always has lain in the obstacles blocking the road to settlement, such as the parliamentary and prime minister elections which take place in Israel, in Europe or in the United States of America, which make it mandatory for the cause to yield and wait until after the appearance of the results, as it is today, since the American presidential elections stand as a stumbling block which keeps the current year from being considered the year of a solution and the year of an international conference.

In this context, I can say here what a British official told us in his report on the prospects for a solution. He said, "This is not the year of a solution, but it is the year which will lead us to a solution and an international conference."

The Embargo on Provision of Arms for Iran

[Question] Do you have some information on the point the efforts being made to issue an international resolution prohibiting the export or sales of arms to Iran have reached?

[Answer] The Western party considers that the Soviet Union has so far been hesitant in supporting the resolution aimed at prohibiting the export of arms to Iran. As to the Soviet Union, it has taken an initiative in the framework which holds that it is necessary to adopt specific measures to confirm the commitment of the arms sources in the Western countries to such a resolution before its approval.

Apart from all this, what I can say here is what a British official told me, that cooperation among the five major countries is serious and is oriented toward the approval and ratification of this resolution.

Effective Media

[Question] As a journalist, what is required in practice for the establishment of effective Arab media in Western Europe?

[Answer] I have said more than once that the media in our era cannot exist and live alongside poverty and want and that there are no media without adequate material resources.

We, Arabs, are not deficient in the material resources the media require; indeed, we are deficient in a permanent, comprehensive media strategy, and hundreds of millions of dollars must be allocated to it.

However, it appears that all the affluent and those who are not affluent do not want to provide this needed money for various reasons and pretexts. It is natural that

this should make it impossible to create the effective Arab media that we dream of. We are now functioning in the framework of the possible available resources, which are scanty in the utmost. A draft Arab media strategy for the Western world was once presented by Qatar and it requested the sum of \$100 million for execution. Neglect was the fate of this project, which met the fate of other important projects. Arab solidarity plays a major role in determining the fate of these projects. I believe that with the holding of a group of Arab summit conferences it will be possible to present such a media strategy for approval. We are in urgent need of a strategy not just for the sake of supporting the Palestine uprising; rather, we are also in need of effective media which will give the world the true picture of Arabs, people with a deep-rooted human heritage and a self-sacrificing civilization, not a terrorist or murderous or backward one as Israeli propaganda is trying to show the world.

11887

Egypt Recommended for Reinstatement in Two Arab Organizations

Arab Labor Organization

45000088 Cairo *AL-AKHBAR* in Arabic 12 May 88 p 3

[Excerpt] The Arab Labor Conference has recommended the return of Egypt to the Arab Labor Organization and the taking of the necessary steps to notify its board of directors of this in its upcoming meeting in Baghdad. This came at the close of its business yesterday in Cairo.

The conference also recommended the establishment of a patriotic labor fund to support the [Palestinian] uprising, financed by donations from Arab organizations and workers to be spent on supporting and strengthening the uprising, with its headquarters in Cairo.

Organization of Arab Cities

45000088 Cairo *AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI* in Arabic
29 May 88 p 5

[Excerpt] The board of directors of the Organization of Arab Cities has decided to return Egypt to membership in the organization and its board of directors. No one had reservations about the decision except the representatives of Damascus and Tripoli.

Talib al-Tahir, director general of the organization, announced this and added that the decision of the board was accepted with great pleasure by the Arab governments.

The director general of the organization will visit Cairo on 6 June, where he will meet with Yusif Sabri Abu-Talib, governor of Cairo, to officially inform him of the decision [which was made] in a meeting of the board held in Rabat, Morocco.

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

'Arafat Calls for Defining of Israeli Borders

44000101 London *AL-MAJALLAH* in Arabic
25 May 88 p 10

[Text] Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, requested in a letter sent to the secretary general of the Arab League, Chedli Klibi, that the league send an urgent message to Javier Perez de Cuellar, secretary general of the United Nations, requesting the establishment of an international organization to issue a statement on defining the borders of Israel. 'Arafat requested, through necessity, the establishing of an observer member in the general assembly of the United Nations to present the petition so that the world would know the actual boundaries of Israel, recognized by the international organization. Accordingly, 'Arafat affirmed the necessity of this definition in light of the American-Soviet-European initiative for settling the conflict in the Middle East.

EGYPT

Industry Minister Discusses Basic Goods Shortage

45040112 Cairo *AKHIR SA'AH* in Arabic
9 Mar 88 pp 12-13

[Interview with Minister of Industry 'Abd-al-Wahhab by Suhayr al-Husayni; in Cairo, date not specified]

[Excerpts] The candid encounter with Engineer Muhammad 'Abd-al-Wahhab began with a discussion of the severe basic goods shortages and the short supply of sugar, oil, and soap.

[Question] It has been alleged that the solution lies in higher local output of these commodities, especially since the necessary credits for importing production requirements have been transferred from the Ministry of Supply to the Ministry of Industry.

So what is the other side of the story, in light of Minister of Supply Dr Abu-al-Dahab's statement, and to what extent is the Ministry of Industry responsible for the supply shortages?

[Answer] It is true that foreign currency credits needed to import food and supply industry requirements have actually been transferred from the Ministry of Supply to the Ministry of Industry. What is actually happening, however, is that factory production requirements are being imported and needs are being met within the limits of available capabilities the credits represent.

In other words, the Ministry of Industry has no problem with production capacities. We have a special production capacity in the field of oil, sugar, and soap production that meets the country's needs, be it in the field of

oil pressing or refining or the manufacture of margarine, hand or laundry soap, or sugar. Indeed, in some of these commodities, factory production capacities exceed market demands.

Therefore, this is not a matter of providing necessary foreign currency credits to import the necessary raw materials not available on the local market, especially since most of these materials are imported. For example, 70 percent of the oil industry's raw material needs are imported from abroad, either in the form of seed that is pressed, processed into oil, refined, and bottled, or in the form of raw oil which is refined and bottled. The same thing goes for soap. All animal fats, the main ingredient in soap production, are imported. Egypt does not produce animal fats.

Planting Oil Seeds

[Question] Isn't there a way to diminish our dependence on imported raw materials for these basic industries by manufacturing them in Egypt?

[Answer] To diminish dependence on imported raw material, we must have a crop rotation for oil seed harvests. We will discuss this matter with the Ministry of Agriculture. Undoubtedly, this kind of project takes time.

[Question] The government has promised to solve this crisis. Have the necessary funds been made available for importing whatever is needed to manufacture of these essential supply goods?

[Answer] Yes, right now we have basic raw material stocks and open credits to import the necessary raw materials to meet the country's need for oil, sugar, and soap for the near future.

[Question] Will the available credits secure the needs of these people for a year or more?

[Answer] The available stocks, be they raw materials or open credits for importing the necessary raw materials, meet factory needs for only 3 months. In other words, we are fine until the end of June. Thereafter, we will open new credits every month. The idea is that new credit has to be opened each month to replace withdrawals.

[Question] Then recent and periodic supply shortages are caused by credit delays?

[Answer] Definitely. Credit delays are the cause of supply shortages and, therefore, the main problem in Egypt is foreign currency availability. We all know that this is not easy. Nonetheless, government policy is based on giving priority to raw materials used in the manufacture of food products and providing the necessary foreign currency.

Higher Sugar and Oil Production

[Question] Has our production of supply goods such as oil, sugar, and soap dropped in recent years, and is there a plan to raise production?

[Answer] The 1986-87 production of public sector companies has actually risen 20 percent, not only in supply or food products, but in all other commodities as well. For example, our 1985-86 production of refined sugar amounted to 792,000 tons. The 1986-87 production has gone up to 841,000 tons of cane sugar in addition to about 900,000 tons of beet sugar.

Likewise, our oil production last year amounted to 273,000 tons and this year reached 276,000 tons.

The same thing goes for industrial cleansers. Last year, production amounted to 72,000 tons compared to 73,000 tons for this year. Last year's production of laundry detergent amounted to 243,000 tons compared to 302,000 tons this year. The same thing is true for ready-made clothes. We used to produce 14 million pieces of clothing, and this year we have produced 16 million pieces. Likewise, last year we produced 485,000 refrigerators against 589,000 this year. Our last year's production of cooking stoves was 11,000 units compared to 20,000 units this year. The same is true of water heaters. We used to produce no more than 2,000 units, but this year this number has hit the 20,000 mark. Thank God, the manufacturing companies have been able to meet all their production, sales, export, growth, and also investment objectives.

[Question] You mentioned that industrial production is steadily rising rapidly, as the figures show. How do you explain people's complaints about shortages and higher prices year after year?

[Answer] Industrial production is rising steadily, as I have already said and as the figures show. Nonetheless, complaints keep coming in about shortages, and this is true. The reason is that production is going up, but so is consumption, but at a faster rate. Hence, President Husni Mubarak was very clear when he tasked the government with raising production rates to exceed higher consumption. The current 5-year plan is based on this principle, for it is a set of new projects aimed at raising local production.

Generally speaking, industry is not responsible for originating production. It comprises processing and finishing industries. For example, we process seed to oil, but we are not responsible for the seed. Here, we are speaking of integration between three basic chains: agriculture, industry, and supply. These ministries are responsible for making food products available. The Ministry of Agriculture is responsible for providing raw materials which the Ministry of Industry produces and manufactures and the Ministry of Supply distributes. This is the responsible trio and, therefore, when supply shortages

occur, all three ministries are held accountable. In other words, production shortages are not due to the lack of factories or machinery but to raw material shortages. We have factories able to meet the country's needs and more, as I have mentioned.

Higher Individual Sugar Consumption

[Question] You said that local production is going up but consumption is greater. Is this due to the population increase? And why have our future plans failed to make allowances for this increase to avoid the kind of surprises we are now facing?

[Answer] There are several reasons for higher consumption, including, to be sure, the 2.7 percent population increase, according to the latest statistics put out by the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics. This increase is manageable and does not present a problem. There are, however, certain improper patterns of consumption. For example, with regard to sugar, it is common knowledge that the average annual individual consumption of sugar is 18 kg, as set by the ration cards. In other words, each individual is allotted 1.5 kg of sugar per month, but the fact of the matter is that each individual consumes 34 kg of sugar per year, according to statistics. Hence, individual consumption of sugar in Egypt is the highest in the world. This is an improper pattern of consumption that has to be examined.

Another reason for higher consumption is market instability. When oil recently disappeared from the market and then reappeared, people who use one or two bottles a month bought a full case because they could not be sure that it would be available when they needed it. This leads to the hoarding of perishable goods that would have to be discarded. This is normal behavior caused by market shortages. Therefore, by making goods available on the market, these temporary artificial shortages will disappear. We have formulated a plan to increase supplies to stabilize the market.

Where Is the Reinforced Steel?

[Question] There has also been a recent complaint about reinforced steel shortages. What is the reason for that?

[Answer] Our production of reinforced steel for this year has been tripled. The al-Dakhilah factory that puts out 750,000 tons a year has gone into production. These amounts have been put on the market, but market demand is still much higher. That is why we in Egypt still depend on imports, for local production is but a small part compared to the amounts of iron we import. Hence, the complaint is about shortages in imported rather than locally produced iron, which has gone up this year.

[Question] Government policy, as stated by President Mubarak, is to increase production in the near future with a view to increasing exports. Has this objective been fulfilled and what are our industrial export rates for this year?

[Answer] Indicators for the first half of 1987-88 show great improvement in sales and exports. World recession has let up considerably and product development and better quality help to stimulate sales. In the first half of 1987-1988, manufacturing companies put out 5.122 billion Egyptian pounds worth of products compared to last year's actual production valued at 4.408 billion pounds, or a 16 percent increase.

In the first half of 1987-1988, our exports were valued at 842 million pounds, or \$360 million, compared to 375 million, or \$233 million, for the same period last year, an increase equal to 24 percent in Egyptian pounds and 155 percent in dollars.

Perhaps the key features of the Ministry of Industry's policy is the attention accorded industrial exports to achieve two objectives:

First, to support the national economy and improve the balance of payments.

Second, to open new markets for Egyptian products.

The manufacturing companies have contributed to exports in the following way: the textile and clothing companies have contributed about 459 million pounds; the food industries companies, 51 million; the chemical industries, 24 million; the engineering industries companies, 180 million; the mineral industries companies, 232 million; and the mining and thermal companies, 12 million.

Textile Companies Incurring Losses

[Question] What is the status of companies incurring losses, the textile ones in particular? How many are there, and what do you plan to do to stop such losses?

[Answer] Public sector manufacturing companies incurred a loss of 196 million for this year, and there are 28 of them, compared to a loss of 148 million incurred by 31 companies last year. This is due to the fact that some companies strengthened their financial position through credit formation in addition to losses caused by higher foreign currency exchange rates. In other words, net profits amounted to 309 million compared to 303 million last year.

[Question] You mentioned that the number of companies incurring losses has dropped and yet losses are higher. How is that?

[Answer] The number of companies incurring losses has indeed dropped, although losses are higher. This is due to problems some companies are facing because of higher exchange rates and failure to adjust prices to meet higher production costs, such as the cement companies, which are all in the red for the first time.

[Question] What about the textile companies incurring losses?

[Answer] The number of textile companies incurring losses is on a steady decline. Five other textile companies, such as the al-Zaqaziq Textile Company and the Wooltex Company, will get out of the red and start realizing a profit this year.

Moreover, a remedy has been devised for companies incurring losses. This remedy may go beyond the current year and, indeed, will require government support from the standpoint of rectifying the financial structure of companies such as the Hulwan Textile Company and the Cairo Silk Textile Company. Some companies are experiencing liquidity deficits and financial structure disequilibrium. These companies need help from various production agencies. For example, the financial structure of these companies must be directed by recapitalization. This is in addition to drawing up several new policies aimed at utilizing available capacities to the fullest, and diversifying production to keep up with sophisticated tastes, while maintaining quality so that local products may compete with world products while boosting exports.

12502

Coalition Party Central Committee Elects Officers 45000086 Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI in Arabic 28 May 88 p 5

[Text] Yesterday the central committee of the Coalition Party [Liberals, Muslim Brotherhood, and Wafd] elected Lutfi Wakid, assistant secretary general of the Coalition Party, chairman of the board of directors and editor-in-chief of AL-AHALI newspaper, the party organ. Mahmud al-Muraghi [was elected] executive editor-in-chief of the newspaper.

In its meeting yesterday morning, chaired by Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, the secretary general of the party, the committee also decided to accept the resignations of Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq from the position of editor-in-chief of the newspaper, and Muhammad Sayyid Ahmad and Salah 'Isa, managing editors.

The committee decided to elect Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq to membership in the central secretariat.

It is expected that the party's general secretariat will agree to the appointment of Jamal al-Sharqawi as managing editor.

IRAQ

Writer Defines National Grievances Against Syria 44040212a Baghdad AL-IRAQ 28 Mar, 4 Apr 88

[Article by Dr Sab'awi Ibrahim al-Hasan: "Violation of Arab Consensus: National Treason and Violation of Commitments in International Law"]

[28 Mar 88 p 3]

[Excerpts] In this summary study we will try to deal with some of Hafiz al-Asad's illegal, anti-nationalist positions toward Iraq and the Arab nation.

First, The Position Regarding the Iranian Aggression Against Iraq

Since the beginning of the Iranian Zionist aggression against Iraq on 4 September 1980, the Syrian regime has worked without letup to inflame the aggression, seek to have it continue, offer economic and military aid and mobilize all the media against Iraq.

Damascus has become a station for the convening of meetings between Syria and the Iranian regime and regimes hostile to the Arab nation. Before the onset of any Iranian offensive, the two regimes hasten to hold their meetings in Damascus in order to plan for the Iranian offensive against Iraq, and Arab Damascus is the evil meeting place for the execution of aggressive goals against Arab territory.

Hafiz al-Asad has not contented himself with his violation of the rules of international and Arab law; rather, he has proceeded to get close to some Arab regimes in order to create a front of Arab countries disavowing their commitments in Arab and international law. In this, he has the objective of fragmenting Arab solidarity and implanting fragmentation among Arab countries in order to create a state of weakness and feebleness in confronting the seminal causes. Moreover, Hafiz al-Asad is not the only one in the arena of decadence and hostility to the Arab nation—rather, there are other Arab countries. Therefore the Arab people's vindictiveness has become apportioned among a group of Arab countries instead of being restricted to Hafiz al-Asad alone.

This policy of Hafiz al-Asad's succeeded to some extent, especially at the beginning of the Iranian Zionist aggression against Iraq, but this success has begun to be attenuated because of the obvious nature of the aggression against Iraq.

Following his failure in forming an Arab front hostile to Iraq, Hafiz al-Asad has now turned toward the Arab Gulf countries and tried to neutralize them with respect to the issue of the Iranian aggression against Iraq and isolate them from the course of events, in violation of the resolutions of the extraordinary Amman summit conference. The Syrian vice president and minister of foreign

affairs made a tour of Gulf countries to give concrete expression to this stand, under the guise of "non-expansion of the scope of the war," followed by preparation for the establishment of relations between the Arab Gulf countries and the Iranian regime and the effort to harm Iraqi-Arab relations in the Arab Gulf.

Second, The Position on the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The ninth Arab summit conference, which was held in Baghdad in 1978, vouched that the Palestine Liberation Organization is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. However, the Syrian regime was the first one to confront the Palestine Liberation Organization and tried to deal it a death blow by various ways and means in order to reduce its importance and isolate it from the forces of the Palestine revolution.

The Syrian regime has prohibited guerrilla operations against the Zionist enemy through Syrian territory. It has not contented itself with this, but has resorted to prosecuting personnel of the Palestinian forces present on Syrian territory.

Hafiz al-Asad's position on the Palestine Liberation Organization contradicts Syria's commitments cited in the Alexandria protocol (special attachment on Palestine), the charter of the League of Arab States (special attachment on Palestine), the Arab joint defense treaty, the resolutions of the League of Arab States, the resolutions of the Islamic conference organization and other international resolutions which have recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization as a representative of the Palestinian people.

The important reasons which prompted Hafiz al-Asad to adopt the position of hostility to the Palestine revolution and against the Palestinian people's rights to self-determination and establishment of an independent Palestinian nation include the claim Hafiz al-Asad makes, to the effect that Palestine has not been an independent country throughout history and that it is part of Syria. This position of his has been declared within the framework of the League of Arab States.

In spite of our belief that unity or federation cannot exist through external circumstances imposed on the Arab people in any part of the Arab nation, we say that the effort to that end will not be achieved by exterminating and terrorizing the Palestinian people and eliminating their revolution. It would have been better to liberate the Arab portion the Zionist entity is occupying.

[4 Apr 88 p 3]

[Excerpts] In the first part of this study, which was published on 28 March 1988, I dealt with the Syrian regime's position on the Arab national causes, including its position on the Iranian aggression against Iraq, the aid it has offered to Iran and its position on the Palestine Liberation Organization.

In the second part of this study I will follow up on the Syrian regime's position concerning Arab national causes and will deal with its position on the Lebanese civil war and the fraudulent settlement of capitulation it has been pursuing vis-a-vis some Arab countries, as well as its position on the Arab summit conferences.

Third, The Position on the Lebanese Civil War

After the Zionist enemy occupied Lebanese territory in June 1982, Syria occupied parts of Lebanese territory.

Syria's commission of that act led to the emergence of states of "reciprocal influence" with the Zionist entity to arrange their status within the Lebanese structure. The Zionist entity managed to revive the formula of 1976 through peaceful coexistence with the Syrian forces in Lebanon for many years. The Zionist entity considers the Syrian presence in Lebanon an inevitable matter because it cannot keep Syria from enjoying a large portion of political influence in Lebanon if it is to guarantee the possibility of a Zionist military presence along the red lines.

The Zionist entity considers that Syria's involvement in Lebanon will support the Syrian negotiating position for the resolution of the Lebanese crisis, and after that will lead it into negotiation over the signing of an agreement of capitulation.

Upon the entry of the Syrian regime's forces into Lebanon and the occupation of parts of it, and the exacerbation of the military confrontation between its forces and the Palestinian forces, as well as the Lebanese progressive forces, it brought about a diversion of attention from Golan and transferred the military struggle from the Golan to Lebanon. The struggle, rather than being with the Zionist entity in the Golan, then was with the Lebanese nationalist and Palestinian forces on Lebanon's territory.

Since Lebanon was militarily occupied by the Syrian and Zionist armies, the areas of influence between them were distributed in accordance with secret agreements made between them through other countries. The areas in which both armies are present are specified; the Syrian army cannot go into the southern area, because it is prohibited from it in accordance with the agreement between them. Syria's chances for success in Lebanon depend on the Zionist party's agreement and coexistence with it.

Syria has worked in alliance with the Iranian forces in Lebanon, especially the AMAL movement and what is called the Hizballah in the southern suburbs of the capital of Beirut and the south of Lebanon, since the Syrian forces have become allied with reactionary forces and forces hostile to the Arab nation and allied with the Zionist enemy in order to strike at the national and patriotic forces in Lebanon and the forces supporting them.

What Hafiz al-Asad is doing to fragment Lebanese national unity contradicts the charter of the United Nations, the provisions of international law, the resolutions of the League of Arab States and the resolutions of the Cairo conference concerned with the Lebanese reconciliation.

Fourth, The Syrian Regime's Position on a Settlement

The question might be raised: Why doesn't the Syrian regime get involved in the settlement process?

The fact is that the main reason which prevents Syria from getting involved in the settlement process and signing the agreements of capitulation lies in the Zionist entity's not wanting to return Golan to Syria. It issued the law annexing Golan and considering it a part of "Israeli" territories, and this inhibited Syria from taking advantage of and entering into the agreement of capitulation.

In 1969, the Zionist enemy applied "Israeli" law to the inhabitants of the Golan and subjected the region to its judiciary authority, since the power of reviewing cases related to the Golan was given to the peace court in Tiberias and the court in Nazareth.

The loss of Golan was a result of Hafiz al-Asad's treason. The Zionist entity has sought to strip away its inhabitants' Arab national identity and the uprising of the Palestinian people on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip has not stirred Hafiz al-Asad's enthusiasm for provoking the inhabitants of the Golan to action.

Fifth, The Defrauding of Arab Countries

The ninth Arab summit conference was held in Baghdad from 2 to 5 November 1978, and, proceeding from the principles which the Arab nation believes in and out of commitment to the traditions of common Arab action, the kings, presidents and emirs of the Arab countries agreed to reject the two Camp David agreements concluded by al-Sadat and the Zionist entity.

Relying on these resolutions, the Syrian regime received \$1.85 billion, an amount which greatly exceeds the total amounts allocated to the other Arab parties, in the hope that Syria would work to develop its military capabilities in confrontation with the Zionist enemy and to fill the gap which the confrontation countries suffered from because of the disruption which afflicted them when they were forsaken by Egypt.

Hafiz al-Asad, in the succeeding Arab summit conferences, received tens of billions from Arab countries for this purpose.

Now that 10 years have elapsed since Syria's receipt of these large sums, we have yet to hear that Syria has carried out any action against the Zionist entity. Indeed, contrary to that, Syria has used these sums to carry out

military and terrorist operations against Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and the Arab Gulf countries. That is, the aid to the Arab countries are paying to Syria comes back to them in the form of criminal acts.

The national treason Hafiz al-Asad has committed against the seminal Arab causes and his contempt for his commitments in international law and to Arab charters and the resolutions of the Arab summit conferences require a pause for review by the Arab nation, since Hafiz al-Asad has received his share in full, not because he uses it to liberate his territory from the oppression of Zionist occupation but because he occupies the territory of Lebanon, kills the Palestinians, sends explosives to the Arab countries, shelters terrorists, helps the Iranian foreign aggression against Iraq and the countries of the Arab Gulf and supports the Ethiopian occupation against the Eritrean people by means of it.

Hafiz al-Asad's treason requires that the Arab nation review its positions toward him and that it adopt the legal and economic measures which will cause him to desist from his transgressions, for example cutting off financial aid from him because he has not used the previous sums for the purpose for which they were allocated.

Sixth, The Syrian Regime's Position on the Arab Summit Conferences

The Syrian regime at the extraordinary Amman summit conference was faced with a unified Arab position and it could not emerge from it or sabotage it in accordance with the Iranian goals which had been devised and it had been assigned to carry out as the summit conference was meeting. Therefore Hafiz al-Asad tried to agree to the conference resolutions when he found an insistence on the part of the heads of the Arab countries on unifying their statements by taking a serious and principled stand against the Iranian Zionist aggression, and because the eyes of all the Arab people were directed at the effective nationalist resolutions the summit conference would come up with.

In order to emerge from this predicament to which the Syrian regime had succumbed, Hafiz al-Asad agreed to the Amman summit conference resolutions in the hope that he would be able to maneuver after this conference had broken up, when the lights had dimmed and a suitable period had passed, which he would exploit through secret action for the sake of fragmenting the unity of views in the Arab nation. The president and commander Saddam Husayn, may God preserve him, referred to the Syrian position in his conversation with the editors of Kuwaiti newspapers and magazines on 20 February 1988 by saying, "The Syrian rulers are maneuvering after the Amman summit, following their realization that the Arabs took a single position in the first stage when they saw that the current in this direction was strong and tried to suggest that they were not opposing this. This matter was obvious in their behavior at the

Amman summit. When the resolutions were issued they stated that they had not read the resolutions and were surprised by them. They then went about playing the role of the intermediary between Iran and the brethren in the Gulf countries. We are not deficient in mediation. There is the secretary general of the United Nations, and there is the Security Council. What we have agreed to is not to have mediation take place between the Arabs and Iran. What we have agreed to is for us all to stand in a single rank, as Arabs, against aggression, and the things you must know. Before eight kings and presidents I told Hafiz al-Asad, 'Take note, as you play the role of the intermediary, I will say that you have started to conspire and renounce your commitments, and here you are playing the role of the intermediary.' It was frank talk before eight kings and presidents, and now they will hear me for sure when you publish this conversation."

We would like to point out that the rule on unanimity which Article Seven of the charter of the League of Arab States produced regarding the adoption of resolutions and commitment to them was realized at the extraordinary Amman summit conference.

Article Seven of the charter of the League of Arab States stipulates:

"What the council resolves unanimously will be binding on all the countries participating in the league and what the council resolves by majority will be binding on those who accept it.

"In either case, the council's resolutions will be carried out in every country in accordance with its bylaws."

Thus it has become binding on all the Arab countries and they are obligated to act in accordance with this article. The Syrian regime's abstention from execution of its commitment after its agreement to the resolutions of this summit conference will not influence the commitments of the other Arab countries, because this stipulation has imposed the condition that there is a state of unanimity in agreement over the resolutions only. As for the execution of these resolutions, they do not require unanimity; rather, each Arab country is carrying out its commitments vis-a-vis the Iranian aggression against Iraq, even if Syria is delinquent. Syrian delinquency will not obstruct the execution of the commitments of the other Arab countries following the agreement to them.

The Syrian regime's position in this was not congruent with a specific point of view regarding the challenge to seminal Arab causes such as the Iranian aggression against Iraq, nor did it view the resolution of the subject through specific bases and foundations in which it differs from the member countries of the league. Rather, they are attempts to delay the situation and stand frankly and overtly alongside the Iranian Zionist designs in the Arab region.

This Syrian position does not proceed from a position where preference is given to the regional or domestic situation over the national situation, and it does not serve or strengthen Syria's sovereignty or independence; rather, the opposite is the result of it. The Syrian position does not harm the Arab nation alone, but it harms Syria itself and infringes on its independence and sovereignty. The Iranian aggression against Iraq specifically is an aggression against Syria's sovereignty and it infringes on its independence in accordance with Article Three of the Arab joint defense treaty, which has stipulated "The signatory countries consider any aggression taking place against any country or more, or against its forces, to be an aggression against them all, and therefore an act against legitimate individual and collective defense of their identity, and they commit themselves to take the initiative of helping the country or countries against which the aggression is committed, and immediately to adopt individually and collectively all measures and use all the means they possess, including the use of armed force, to repel the aggression and return security and peace to their proper place."

In accordance with that, the Arab joint defense treaty has considered aggression against any Arab country to be aggression against all Arab countries, and requirements dictate on them all a response to this aggression in accordance with the principle of legitimate defense. The country which spurns this or refrains from using this principle will have agreed by law to the infringement of its sovereignty and independence. Iraq's response to the Zionist aggression on Damascus is thereby founded on the basis of Iraq's fixed right in accordance with this treaty to defend Syria, and Iraq's carrying out the defense of Kuwait (on Kuwait day) is thereby founded on the basis of Iraq's right to mutual defense.

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Article Expounds Bases for Progressive National Front

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[Article by 'Abd-al-Qadir Muhammad: "What President Saddam Husayn Thinks of the Progressive National Front's Actions"]

[Excerpts] There are frequent discussions about a formula of action for the Progressive National Front. This formula of action is being adopted by the Arab Ba'th Party, and President Saddam Husayn has been trying to apply it and develop it. But the question which is often raised is this: does this formula represent a tactical approach which is temporary, or is it strategic in nature?

What are the goals which the party is trying to achieve by pursuing action by a front? Is this a temporary situation the party is going through to contain the political activities of the remaining parties and national forces? Does thinking about the importance of action by a front represent a strategic approach stemming from the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party's firm ideological convictions? Does the Ba'th Party believe that political parties and national forces must be asked to participate so they can play their part and make an active contribution to the construction process and the progress which the country has been experiencing in a variety of areas?

Answers to these and other similar questions for the purpose of reaching logical conclusions is something which in reality must go hand in hand with a treatment

of the ideological and fundamental ideas which constitute the bases of President Saddam Husayn's views on the method which ought to be used by the front in taking action.

Actually, the premises which underlie the president's definition of the idea of a front stem from the ideological foundations of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party, the first national party to act objectively and call for the formation of a bloc made up of progressive national forces and revolutionary political parties which share the same formulas for the struggle. The bloc would be formed to give these national forces and parties an opportunity to work together, despite their ideological and organizational differences, to achieve national goals. President Saddam Husayn believes that developing traditions for the masses' struggle and making democratic formulas inherent in joint national action are necessary.

It may be said that what the president has in mind when he thinks about action by a front includes basic and fundamental points which may be laid down as follows:

1. Establishing Multiple Parties

The question of action by a front brings up directly the issue of multiple parties in political action. The phenomenon of multiple political parties is one that is realistic and objective; it can be neither disregarded nor ignored. Multiple parties here represent a vital field in which a national front can be established to exercise its activities. Establishment of such a front would be inconceivable unless there are political parties which are engaged in legitimate activities and are duly recognized as existing for the purpose of achieving vital objectives which serve national interests.

Based on the fact that it is indisputable that participating in political activities is important, it may be said that inasmuch as multiple parties promote democratic values and practices and give them a firm foothold in society, they express the party's as well as the revolution's wishes to promote the spirit of interaction and dialogue between parties and national forces. Based on that premise President Saddam Husayn affirms that "A front is one of the principal formulas we can use to express our wish to promote democracy and invite the masses, the national forces, and the public to participate in the political process."

Based on this understanding of the nature of action by a front, all parties and national forces who organize themselves into a front would achieve certain success and additional gains. In fact, the gains which would be realized and the situation which would result therefrom would completely rule out the possibility of any anticipated losses as long as these parties and national forces can engage in their activities and express their opinions and positions quite freely on the basis of an authentic sense of patriotism and a keen sense of responsibility.

Such a position would take away the parties' effectiveness and leave them exposed to difficult choices. They would become isolated from the masses and unable to motivate and mobilize them. Consequently, their reason for being would be undermined, and their survival in history would be in jeopardy. Thus, the more formulas there are for action by a front, the more vigorous the national movement becomes. It becomes stronger, and its reach among the masses becomes broader.

The Alliance Strategy

If multiple parties provide a vital field of activity for political parties and national forces, such activity does not necessarily imply that they constitute a model of liberalism which is based on imported western specifications. Such a formula does not necessarily assume that one political party would exercise power as others line up with the opposition. Such a model has negative consequences and leads to chaos and confusion. Consequently, it does not make up for action by a front.

In most cases political activity in a liberal system is disorganized and unstable. On the one hand, it could lead to some kind of tension and discord between the party which is in power and the remaining opposition parties. On the other hand, it permits the opposition parties themselves to become involved in battles that occur on the sidelines. And even if some kind of agreement or alliance were to be reached by these parties, such an alliance is frequently unsteady, unstable, and only temporary. It is an alliance whose magnitude and duration are determined by a specific objective: to remove the ruling party from power. Once that objective is achieved, the alliance is promptly dismantled, and another round of conflict and disagreement begins. However, the revolutionary model which is being proposed by the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party and touted by President Saddam Husayn as the model which ought to be followed in pursuing action by a national front is actually neither an interim model nor a temporary tactical alliance. Nor does it represent the superficial participation of the parties involved for the purpose of going through a tight spot or a complicated situation in a short or limited period of time. Instead, the proposed model is one for a strategic alliance that would last for an entire period of history.

In that regard President Saddam Husayn says, "As I see it, the front is not a temporary organization. The front must not be a temporary organization if it is to have its own prestige and carry its own weight under the country's revolutionary construction conditions. To us, the front was not created to confront special emergencies and temporary conditions only to be dismantled after these conditions cease to exist. The front was established to build an independent, socialist Iraq, a state which is liberal in its quest for the objectives of the national struggle. As we see it, prospects for the front indicate that it will survive and will continue along the same lines which the revolution and its objectives will follow."

3. Ideological Independence and the Need for Positive Interaction

Among other things, action by a front assumes that the political parties and national forces which join the front will maintain the integrity of their own ideas and ideological makeup to ensure their independence. They must not become subordinate to non-national forces and currents. Although such a view does not rule out that such friendly relations between national parties and other foreign parties can exist or be established, it is a view which totally rejects subordination and its consequences which entail the imposition on national parties of positions and policies which are incompatible with national objectives and national characteristics and values. President Saddam Husayn affirms that when he says, "We reject the notion of any Iraqi, local party becoming involved in a subordinate relationship with any country or organization in the world no matter what our relationship is with that country or organization. We view subordinate relationships with suspicion. The difference between friendship and subordination is determined by concrete phenomena, behavior, ideas, and policies. What matters most, however, is whether these parties' positions were outlined to promote the interests and influence of outside strategies or to serve clearly defined national interests."

On the other hand, if we find it normal for a political party to assume that its members would enjoy a high level of ideological independence and immunity in principle, that, emphasizes the president, ought not to make the member of any political party "believe that he alone knows what the whole absolute truth is when it is time for application. He must not insist on his own view and ask others to join him in supporting that view. His subsequent actions must not be influenced by that. If such an erroneous understanding of what constitutes independence continues, the front will not attain its strategic horizons." Consequently, the president becomes convinced that inasmuch as ideological independence is important, it must not become a barrier to a disciplined and committed interaction of ideas among those parties which allied themselves together and formed a front. The interaction of ideas in a give and take manner would enrich the revolutionary experience and make the creation of new prospects for exercising democracy possible. It would utilize revolutionary standards to formulate rules and conventions which can be used in dealing positively, purposefully and constructively with others to create objective conditions under which society can make progress and develop.

4. Engaging in Criticism

In this regard President Saddam Husayn affirms that criticizing others in the context of the relationship which exists within the front and in accordance with committed, objective and rational principles would constitute an essential and significant addition in the area of developing action by the front. What must be taken into account

is that the criticism we are talking about here is not a negative form of supervision. Its purpose is not to catch people making mistakes; nor is its purpose to embarrass them, condemn them, or malign the policies and positions of other parties to achieve narrow, partisan gains. What is meant here by criticism is that which is purposeful and constructive and is made to correct a mistake, rectify a situation, and restore matters to their proper course.

5. The Nature of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party's Leadership Role in Action Taken by a Front

The party system in Iraq is based on the notion of a leading party. This means that the party which consciously seizes the initiative, gives guidance energetically, and has the ability to mobilize the people and penetrate their circles is to be considered the leading party of the revolutionary movement. It can hold that position as long as it can polarize the movement's objectives, put its tools to work, and execute its procedures.

On that basis the title of a leading party is not bestowed capriciously on a political movement, nor can such a movement give itself that title. What determines which party becomes the leading party in the country is a set of realistic factors which have to do with pressing requirements for progress. That determination has to do with which party is intellectually, politically, and organizationally qualified to recognize these requirements; it has to do with which party has the ability to make them materialize. The Socialist Arab Ba'th Party has all these characteristics; its natural role is to lead the struggle in the nation and in the Arab world as well. The Socialist Arab Ba'th Party carries much weight among the masses; the course of its ideas and ideology is authentic, and its accomplishments and gains have been considerable. In addition, the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party played a role when it undertook to bring about revolutionary change in the country. It led and brought about the outbreak of the national, progressive July 17-30 Revolution. Accordingly, the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party has a unique feature which distinguishes it from other parties and national forces. Therefore, its leadership role in an action undertaken by the front is based on scientific and objective facts which pertain to what constitutes leadership. And that definition stems from the standards of the experience in the struggle. On that basis the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party's leadership role and the party's leadership position and power in society are actually practical and normal reflections of its historical role in the revolution and in the post-revolutionary construction period which followed.

Hence, it would be sensible for the remaining parties and national forces to join the national front under the leadership of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party in its capacity as the leader of the revolutionary march whose aim is to achieve national and pan-Arab objectives.

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MOROCCO

USFP Leader Comments on Government Economic Debate

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[Interview with Fathallah Oualalou, head of the USFP parliamentary group, by Zakya Daoud; date and place not given]

[Text] Economist Fathallah Oualalou, who is serving for the second time, and for 2 years, as president of the Arab economists, is the head of the USFP parliamentary group. He distinguished himself in particular during the debate on the economic codes. Our reporter asked him if he would be willing to assess the past and future parliamentary discussions for us, looking toward the year 1990. He very graciously granted us the following interview.

[Question] As an economist and head of the parliamentary bench of the USFP, one of the opposition parties, what are your thoughts about the recent discussion on the subject of the codes?

[Answer] We should first discuss the code pertaining to the finance law, of which it is the extension, inasmuch as while the government withdrew some of its proposals right in the middle of the discussions, they left the reduction in the tax on companies from 45 to 40 percent, which the majority approved in silence, pending. Thus the finance law was mutilated.

What is the reason for such an attitude on the part of the government? Within the framework of its liberal concepts, the IBRD has since 1978 urged both the reduction of subsidies for consumer goods and the convenient terms, regarded as abusive, provided by the investment code. It is known that the government does not share this point of view. If it has taken a rather unexpected and sudden stand in this connection—since 20 days earlier, within the context of the plan and the vast space provided for the private sector (52 percent of the investments), there was nothing to indicate that this would happen—the reasons had to do with financial constraints. It was for these same reasons that it turned again toward reduction, if not gradual elimination, of the special tax on imports, which has been strengthened today under another name. And this after it had bitterly defended the opposite intention, and had wanted to increase the TVA rates to be charged on certain products.

Purely Fiscal Reasons

[Question] Not to mention the doubling of the base for license fees, the increase in the charges on companies, with the turnover tax, which itself was made subject, in extremis at the end of January, to the PSN, which it was claimed should be eliminated.

[Answer] The 1988 finance law signals the failure of a policy. In 1987, the budget deficit was already higher than planned, despite the decline in oil prices, imports of food products and the dollar rate. The fiscal resources of the state continue to decline, due on the one hand to the economic stagnation, which has its fiscal corollary, and on the other, to the reduction in the special tax on imports, which was an important factor in budget financing, not to mention the tax exemptions prescribed by the codes as well. The government made its decisions on the basis of purely fiscal reasons.

[Question] But were there not political-economic issues at stake as well, raising the question of relations between the state and the business owners?

[Answer] Things took on exaggerated proportions, it seems to me, because the government did not properly explain what it was doing to the representatives of the owners, or to the trade unions either, which indicates an absence of dialogue. And if some representatives of the owners' class reacted with outrage and irrationality, it was because the state had accustomed them to privileged terms, so that a reversal, even if limited, was inconceivable to them. The owners have always had an expectation of being helped, which developed from within the state itself, beginning with colonization and proceeding through the transfers of property and capital in the early days of independence to the Moroccanization in 1973. They do not identify their interests with the economic balance of the country and the budget balance of the state, which in my opinion represents a weakness and a shortsighted view. The government is short of money, but it has not changed its policy. The business owners have been unable to understand this. However, the government proposals were very limited, and did not affect all of the measures designed to minimize the cost of initial investment (exemption from registry and stamp duties, the TVA, license fees, customs duties, subsidies), but rather only those (and not until after 5 years for exporters) pertaining to income resulting from investments, and only, moreover, to the extent that there is a profit.

But it must also be emphasized that the codes are old, dating back to 1958-1960 and 1973 and their expansion in the 1980s, and they are numerous, since they pertain to eight economic sectors, whereas one no longer knows exactly what it is to which the state really wants to give priority. These codes, institutionalized under the pressure of the technical ministers and promoters, have served as a screen concealing other investment incentive measures, which have had a greater impact. For the

investors' motivations have to do principally with the market. Here it is on the internal level, which is limited, and on the external level, it is just beginning to expand. The state can do a great deal in promoting the two. Both sectors are, then, concerned with profitability, and thus the cost of capital and credit, relations with the banks, the cost of land and that of raw materials. In Spain, for example, there are no codes, but the state, by an agreement, has committed itself to reducing costs and expanding the market. The third motivation has to do with administration, both central and local, and here it can be said that the state is doing nothing to facilitate matters for investors.

Unfortunately, excessive reactions on the part of the owners have made it impossible to deal with the veritable constraints affecting investments, and in this sense, those who were suffering have not known how to defend themselves. However, they should know that the state can no longer support abusive subsidies. Not by choice or by constraint.

Autonomy for the Owners

[Question] Thus it is indeed a question of a new definition of the relations between the state and the bourgeoisie?

[Answer] The role the private sector is called upon to play within this present context of tremendous international and regional challenges is an important one. It must be a vigorous sector. Thus, after 30 years of aid, the owners must move beyond adolescence and achieve autonomy, in terms of economic decisions as well as cultural behavior and political thought. This autonomy will be an excellent thing for social dynamics, and in this connection, the debate can only have healthy consequences where the problem of the social classes in Morocco is concerned.

[Question] Has this discussion about the social classes always been frustrated until now?

[Answer] Thanks to the opposition, the debate has been able to move beyond dogmatism and to establish that what has been happening in these recent months in the world stock markets shows that the liberal movement is in crisis and that the liberal discourse has its limits. But if it is granted an important role in promoting economic development and exports and in the struggle against unemployment, which has its counterpart in respect for and duties to the state and to the employees, the private sector must look to the majority, must become more dynamic, more responsible, more autonomous and more straightforward, in order to reach a kind of agreement with society. The nature of the relations between the state and the private sector has changed. The state must recognize this. The private sector must stop and think and must understand that its interests are linked with the economic and social balance of the country.

Such an attitude might contribute to democracy, if only the owners could abandon their attitude of complicity and emerge from their silence, and it might strengthen our negotiating position in the world, from the point of view of both Europe and ourselves.

[Question] What are the political stakes in this debate between the parliament and the government, on the one hand, and the various political parties, on the other?

[Answer] For the first time, the opposition has been able to reach agreement on a certain number of basic and organically linked amendments.

Agreement with regard to the plan has to do with the need to link the battle concerning territorial integrity with economic development, and to move beyond the equipment phase to that of productive activity in the recovered Saharan provinces. And also the need to promote major development projects in the North to provide accommodation structures for Sebta and Melilla, which have a Mediterranean exposure, in order to strengthen our position with regard to Spain and the EEC.

Where the finance law is concerned, these amendments have to do with the introduction of the principle of increased pensions for teachers on the primary and secondary, as well as higher educational levels, and increased allowances for government employees.

With regard to the battle against any increase in the TVA rates all of our amendments have at this point been accepted.

With regard to the codes, we have tried to set forth the real problems creating obstacles to investments and to introduce a differentiation mechanism with regard to exemptions from the IS for mass housing, coastal fishing, the craft sector, the PME and enterprises which generate jobs, but all of these measures were rejected, just as the majority's amendments were.

However, there was a dynamic process, and the USFP, for its part, expressed the hope, consistent with the motion put forth at its last national council meeting, that thanks to national unity on the subject of the territorial issue, the political disputes of the 1960s and 1970s can be left behind and the resulting problems settled, above all where the political prisoners are concerned.

[Question] This alliance of political parties in the opposition, as well as the joint trade union actions, will have extensions on the level of the political general staff. Can they also be viewed within the context of alternation in government?

[Answer] It is a fact that while we do criticize the economic policy, our approach includes formulating proposals, in this instance in a unified way which has been noted by the public.

The Public Sector and Transfers to the Private Sector

[Question] What will happen in the future battles about transfers to the private sector and taxation, which appear likely to be even bigger?

[Answer] In principle, the opposition will continue its unified approach, and within the framework of a law pertaining to the future of the public sector, it will have an opportunity to assess it and to measure its potential and its shortcomings, which in my opinion are a matter of government responsibility and administration. This study, I believe, must steer clear of two hazards. The first has to do with the ideological and dogmatic attitudes which are outdated now everywhere, and the second would be consideration of the public sector solely from the point of view of state finances.

The need to put an end to bureaucratic and feudal practices and the waste of the economic surplus, and awareness of the important role which must be given to the public enterprises, will then emerge.

It would also be useful to consider establishing agreements involving the state, society and the public enterprises.

[Question] The program contracts drafted are not working, because, it is said, the state will not honor its commitments.

[Answer] Readaptation will be necessary, along with the establishment of controls, political ones above all, through the political institutions, as well as economic efficiency checks which are not petty. For there is a need to plan for autonomy of management. Also, there must be an evaluation of what has been transferred to the private sector, on the economic and social levels, in particular for the OCE, in fully objective fashion and with the necessary honesty. Care must also be taken not to fall into the methods and errors which led in other countries to the stock exchange crisis and the reduction of household savings. The current discussion about the private sector, as well as that concerning the public sector, leads me to say that the rules of the game and the norms must be respected in relations between the state and society as a whole. Honesty too. This could lead to a renewal of democracy, in which discussion is intimately linked with the development of the sectors and the defense of our interests against those of foreign powers.

[Question] And what about taxation?

[Answer] It is too often forgotten that the draft reform dates back to 1973.

[Question] It is already outdated, then.

[Answer] Unfortunately, it was not applied when financial capacity would have made this possible. Instead, implementation was begun very slowly. It has been 5

years now that the parliament has been debating it—first the TVA, then the IS, and now the IGR. The IS was not put into effect immediately after its approval, and this has created a juridical problem, because the IBP was not abrogated, and thus the two systems coexist.

But the taxation problem is not an isolated one. Where budget balances are concerned, the partial improvement in 1986 was due to the reduction in investment expenditures, which had negative repercussions on the fiscal resources, as well as the resources obtained from foreign loans as their counterpart. They have declined, and all of this while the tax on imports has been reduced in voluntarist fashion. And in view of the constraints due to the debt, the government has turned back to domestic loans, the repayment of which itself entails an increase in resources. The question of tax resources is linked with the problem of the debt. Our country, just like others, moreover, is faced with a crucial need to view the question of indebtedness as a phenomenon for which the creditor countries which initiated the loan procedure in the 1970s, along with the IMF, are responsible. Today, faced with the failure of the adjustment and rescheduling policies and the Baker plan, the international financial complex should accept its responsibility and understand that the indebted countries cannot repay the totality of their debts without destabilizing international trade. Morocco should follow this discussion very closely and even adopt an aggressive attitude on the issue.

[Question] How do you view matters in terms of the period between 1988 and 1990?

[Answer] The parliament has just voted approval of a 5-year plan which sets the guidelines for 1988-1992, while the so-called adjustment policy put an end to the old 5-year plan in 1983. Although there is much doubt about this, the issue is not whether to plan or not, because planning is strengthened everywhere by being modified. The program of the multinational firms, the agreements among the chiefs of state of "The Seven," joint mastery within the international financial institutions, renewal and reform in the socialist countries—all of these are manifestations of a mastery of the management of the world economy, with the introduction of qualitative criteria along with those of a quantitative nature. But what poses the problem here is the ever clearer lack of the governmental tool for the management of the country. This is the most disturbing thing, along with the preponderance of financial adjustment motivations. Morocco is called upon to accept tremendous challenges, the main one being continuing to direct the battle to impose recognition of the Moroccan nature of the Sahara on our neighbors.

Four World Poles of Development

The country must also take its place in a world economy in which a number of poles are about to exert their joint attraction. The first is in North America, where the

United States and Canada will establish a unified market in 1998 into which they will attempt to draw Mexico, and thus the specific management of the debt of that country.

The second is found in the EEC, which will establish a single market in 1992. The third is the Pacific pole, involving Japan, the newly industrialized countries in Southeast Asia, the potential for dealing with China, and the significant presence of India. The fourth pole, one with great strategic and political weight, involves the USSR and its satellites. Thanks to Gorbachev's reforms and despite the obvious hesitation, the USSR may find its position in international economic relations strengthened. Following the development of these poles, we will be confronted with two factors at the end of the century. One is specialization, because the more advanced centers will develop their financial, banking and quaternary complexes. On the other hand, there is the geopolitical element, which along with the economy, dictates international relations—human strategy, demography, armaments, culture, and the influence of the media and information.

What position should we adopt? Within the framework of a cramped nation, we have no potential for credibility with regard to the EEC. An ideal in the past, the Maghreb is today a necessity for survival. I think the fact that the three countries in the Maghreb have developed differently in the past 30 years may be a lucky factor, for the economies complement each other better than they did in the 1960s, and we are all aware that the economic and social strategies pursued have reached their limits, and that in order to be able to advance, cooperation, if not integration, is necessary. The EEC remains our principal partner. It is in movement, attracted both by the North, with the approaching membership of Norway and the cooperation being pursued with the Scandinavian countries, and by the South, and thus the Mediterranean, following the acceptance of Spain as a member and the efforts made by Turkey. The EEC is interested in the East, where it has closer cultural ties, despite the existence there of another economic and political system—one which is, however, being challenged. What role should we play in order to be able to alter the balance in relations with the EEC, particularly when only 10 km from Morocco, Spain, the ninth most powerful industrial nation in the world and the most dynamic in the EEC, is imposing its presence increasingly, and there is every indication that by the end of the century, it will have a potential equal, if not superior, to that of the French economy?

We have viewed the entry of Spain into the European organization and its modernization as sources of problems, above all where our classic farm and fishing exports are concerned, but if we can succeed in promoting a continuous economic dynamic, we will be able to derive benefit from the importance of Spain in the future. On the other hand, any passivity on our part will

cause us to lag behind Europe, and thus distance ourselves, to an even greater extent. This means that we must look toward the Mediterranean and develop the northern part of the country in all sectors, so that Morocco can be opened to the Mediterranean, where its presence has been lacking since the 15th century. The Maghreb as well can only develop through its two extremities—the Mediterranean, on the one hand, and cooperation in the South, through the Saharan part of the Maghreb and within the framework of respect for territorial integrity, on the other. All of this entails the need to decentralize economic activity in Morocco. But for the time being, indebtedness remains the basic problem, and it requires international solutions involving the creditors. The excessively abusive intervention by the IMF is contributing to the merger of these two problems.

Strengthening Democracy

This economic development approach encourages us to promote the strengthening of democracy, which beyond the realm of politics, has become a production factor and a tool for defending our interests against those of foreign nations.

[Question] Between 1979 and 1981, you were president of the Arab economists. You have just been reelected to this post for 2 years. What, then, are your thoughts about economic research and the place of economists in the Arab world?

[Answer] A delegation representing the Moroccan association of economists participated just recently in the 10th congress held by the Arab economists in Kuwait on the problems of the Arab economies and the conditions which will dictate the future. The Egyptian economists, absent for a decade or so, were present, and this is of particular importance, since the most significant approaches in the Arab economic sector have come as much from Egypt as from the Maghreb. At this congress, which was held after the oil price dropped, it was possible to evaluate the pluses and minuses in terms of oil income, which has played a role with which we are all familiar in the new international economic order. But these negative effects stand out sharply today, with the development of the desire for investment income, the neglect of production activities, the decline of labor, the farm deficit, and the food gap, which never ceases widen. The growth of oil led to the expansion and strengthening of the state centers, to the detriment of all democratic participation by the people. This came about within the narrow framework of the state, and the inter-Arab flow declined. Thus the drop in oil resources is healthy, because it forces the further rationalization of economic resources and reveals the limits of state strategies and the domestic and foreign financial imbalances, above all in the nations which do not produce oil, where the resources have declined in spectacular fashion, while the oil-producing nations have been affected by the decline of the dollar and the international financial market losses. The question of security has become a primary

element, above all in the Gulf, with the dramatic consequences of the war between Iraq and Iran. In the course of the congress, an awareness of inter-Arab cooperation developed, which should be reflected in real and tangible actions. Awareness also developed concerning the need for democratic participation, to reform the economies and to create regions in the Arab world, such as the Maghreb, the Nile and the Gulf, instead of hammering away forever on the idea of Arab unity. Economic constraints dictate support of regionalization by the Arab economies, and this will be the theme of the second congress to be held in 1990, on the regional aspects of Arab cooperation.

5157

Opposition Members Discuss Party Participation in Government Proceedings

45040108 London *AL-MAJALLAH* in Arabic
22 Mar 88 pp 28-29

[Text] The latest session of the Moroccan parliament was, by all standards, extraordinary. It was preceded by a fall session that witnessed unusual confrontations between government and parliament, apparently the first of their kind since the restoration of democracy in 1977. The political repercussions of this session are still casting their shadows on political life.

This fall session and the extraordinary one that followed were dedicated to the economic situation in the country. The impact of economic problems facing Morocco prescribed the pursuit of a liberally-oriented economic policy aimed at reducing government burdens, effecting a new political tax boost, transferring certain public sector facilities to the private sector, and limiting tax exemptions enjoyed by private sector corporations. Therefore, it was natural that the hall of parliament should witness confrontations that shuffled the issues, prompting the government majority to oppose government policies while the opposition stood there watching the confrontation to exploit it politically. This "exploitation" consisted of certain opposition leaders intimating, for the first time, that they would give a vote of confidence to the government in the next session while forming a united front of opposition parties in parliament.

AL-MAJALLAH discussed this matter with three parliamentary leaders affiliated with the government majority and the opposition. They are: Umar Belkeziz (Constitutional Union/government), Taher Chaker (National Democratic Party/government) and Abdelhaq Tazi (Independence Party/opposition), who were asked the same questions. Following is the outcome:

About the opposition's policy to give the vote of confidence to the government, Umar Belkeziz (Constitutional Union) says: "As far as I am concerned, these are nothing but rumors circulating behind the scenes and I cannot discuss them. So far, parliament has not been officially apprised of this matter and, consequently, I cannot give

an opinion on news that has not been officially confirmed. When such a petition is put forward, we will certainly have a clear and candid position on it."

Taher Chaker (National Democratic Party) says: "The current Moroccan parliamentary structure is made up of majority parties and opposition parties. The National Democratic Party belongs to the majority and upholds deep-rooted principles which it practices in parliament, in addition to its having two portfolios in the cabinet. We support the government by virtue of our position in it. As for withdrawing the vote of confidence, so far we know nothing about this matter."

Abdelhaq Tazi (Independence Party) says: "I believe that submitting a motion of no confidence is a natural procedure in democratic systems. When the opposition comes forward with an alternative to a certain government policy, it can, clearly and as part of the democratic game, submit a motion of no confidence if it considers a government policy to not be in the people's interest. Therefore, this matter is always a possibility in all parliaments. Opposition forces would, in due time, submit such a motion, should the country's higher interest call for this kind of action."

Outstanding Development Plans

Assessing the recent parliamentary session and the resultant repercussions of the 5-year plan debates, Shakir says: "Our party has given special attention to the plan, and most of its crucial points, which the National Democratic Party upholds, have been adopted, giving precedence to the desert and putting rural sector development at the top of the priority list."

Seventy percent of this 5-year plan reflects the directions of the democrats and our party's points of view. I believe that political sages and analysts of our political background and of the plan's policies can easily discern a total congruence between the plan's programs and our political and economic positions, the same positions to which the Moroccan monarch continues to devote his main attention, be it in his message to the prime minister about the plan, or during his inauguration of the current parliamentary year, or during the Supreme Planning Council debates.

"Given our belief that the plan reflects this policy, we have gone along with it in all its stages, be it during the Supreme Planning Council debates or in parliament. We have submitted whatever ideas we had, and have made all the additions, corrections, and modifications that could be made."

"We have really made the point that this plan contains new things that set it apart from all the earlier ones. It is marked by realism and deals with basic problems. Let us not forget that the plan has allocated 74 billion dirhams for basic projects which had been scheduled—a realistic measure, in our view, consistent with the government's

current capabilities. This is a policy based on the actual Moroccan situation and on our needs and capabilities. The plan also introduced the idea of a "projects bank" whereby projects would be registered, regulated and financed when funds are made available for implementation.

"We did not fail to introduce several important amendments that have been adopted by other government majority parties as well. These amendments pertain mainly to rural revival."

Belkeziz says in this regard: "To us, this session was our chance to express our position on bills submitted to parliament, even though the plan is not absolute law but rather a process. This is new in the field of planning in that it does not limit planning to its well-known classical sense and narrow scope that cannot stand amendment, revision or correction. It entails, in our view, a distinctive kind of project unique to Morocco. After evaluating planning experiences in the world, particularly the socialist experiment based on government intervention and the liberal experiment employing free enterprise, the Moroccan monarch proposed a third path that averts the negative aspects of both approaches, calling it a course of action rather than planning. It is a process aimed at defining priorities and needs, evaluating capabilities and drawing long-range plans while preserving freedom of intervention during implementation. The entire project, save for some aspects that may be called the hard core, may be amended, enriched and augmented according to circumstances and capabilities.

"Hence, our party supported and defended this initiative and new vision. We back the plan, with some amendments, and had several proposals which the government has accepted, while the other proposals were included in what was called the 'projects bank.' This was our chance to put forward our vision of how an aggressive, ambitious, and long-range economic plan should be."

This is what Tazi had to say: "The development plan was submitted to parliament too late, putting parliamentary committees out of action for 2 months waiting for the government to finish drafting its projects. This had an impact on the parliament's agenda, for we were working under tremendous pressure that compelled us to take the time factor into account in studying the points included in the all-important development plan. And, because the draft plan is a process that concerns the country's life for 5 years, it was better to set aside a special 3-month session for it. We were compelled to study the plan in less than a month and, therefore did not have enough time to conduct a detailed study."

"The clear contradiction notwithstanding, I can say that the 5-year plan bill the government submitted was not significant in terms of production and was not an integrated homogenous program. Hence, studying the bill was an easy matter for us. It is a 'creative bill' containing beautiful words and desires. Anyone familiar with it

raises two basic questions: how and when? The second negative aspect of this bill is the figures the government, submitted, as usual, general figures based on the years covered by the plan. Hence, we believe that circumstances dictated the 5-year plan bill the government submitted. Nonetheless, the opposition's unity, for the first time in the history of the Moroccan parliament, sprang from a common denominator and offered an amendment we consider very significant, representing, in our view, the priority of protecting the unity of our land, linking this unity to economic growth and, indeed, rendering it a tool for safeguarding national unity. Our amendments were profound and purposeful, but we were surprised that the government rejected them. We believe that in so doing it wasted a valuable opportunity to embrace the opposition's position."

Controversy Over the Budget

Regarding the controversy the general budget triggered in the Moroccan parliament, and regarding the budget assessment, Belkeziz says: "The budget bill prompted many comments and inquiries and provoked sharp clamorous debates, perhaps due to the fact that it presented a new idea and a realistic philosophy summed up in expanding the tax base and lowering the tax rate in general. This is a positive step backed by the people, but on the other hand it has created some problems. We in the Constitutional Union Party, even though we represent the majority and indeed the majority's majority, face responsibilities dictated by this situation, and we are well aware of them. They are summed up in defending the voters, working to preserve their purchasing power and safeguarding their acquired rights and ability to cope with life. Our position once again was very balanced, indeed, stemming from our fixed positions. We stood firm against certain provisions proposed in the budget. I admit that the government was subtle, responsible, and calm in its dealings with us. We conferred on the matter before reaching an agreement according to which we accepted certain provisions proposed by the government, which in turn accepted many of our proposals."

Abdelhaq Tazi responded to the same question about the budget by saying: "We believe that the basic problem was lack of time, especially since the government presented bills containing utterly unpopular positions, including raising taxes—especially on capital gains—and an indirect tax rise pertaining to investment laws whereby its new bill cuts the tax exemption period for corporations and cuts taxes by 50 percent."

"I say the government submitted unpopular bills because the new tax law came at a time when prices are going up while wages, those of laborers and employees in particular, are frozen. How can there be a tax hike without a wage increase? Therefore, the chance to debate the capital gains tax enabled the opposition to express its opinion clearly and candidly, and we asked that these

taxes be cut, thus compelling the government to back down even though it did not adopt our proposals, for we were hoping to abolish taxes and raise wages."

Chaker said: "The 1988 budget was different. This bill does not resemble previous bills in its content or positions. It presented a new perspective compatible with the difficult circumstances the Moroccan economy is going through. Morocco is now experiencing a financial crunch caused by circumstances beyond our control, aggravated by the years of drought and the desert conflict. The budget bill put forth a purposeful vision represented in a serious and bold attempt to get the country out of the financial crisis it is now experiencing, to avoid a wage freeze and raise the purchasing power of the people. All these can be achieved only if linked to augmenting government revenues. But how can the state coffers be buttressed if people make profits but do not pay taxes?"

We in the National Democratic Party believe that anyone making a profit must pay his dues and the citizen, any citizen, has rights and duties as well. Paying taxes is the most important duty and, therefore, we asked that an equitable tax policy be enacted to do away with tax evasion. The bill calls cutting the tax rate by 50 percent, expanding the tax base, and limiting exemptions and donations in an effort to rationalize state revenues to meet expenditures. The National Democratic Party has always advocated the elimination of disparity among classes and groups. We do not expect a Casablanca investor to develop outlying mountains, plains, and deserts. Only the state is capable of doing that, but it does need the financial means to implement its policy.

On the other hand, when it came to measures that affect low-income people, the capital gains tax in particular, we opposed the government and proposed alternatives and the government accepted most of our proposals." An Aimless Attack

In response to a final question about assessing relations between the cabinet and parliament, Dr Belkeziz says: "There is tangible progress in this regard. The extraordinary session has proven the soundness of the democratic option and the rightness of parliamentary practice. These relations transpired in the struggle between the pro- and anti-government parties in a climate of respect and discipline. Each group presented its proposal very clearly and in an outstanding manner. I believe that the Moroccan monarch's farsightedness, the Moroccan people's patriotism, and the way we deal with national issues contributed greatly to this democratic atmosphere."

As for Chaker, he says: "As a government majority team, we go along with and debate the government, we correct, we amend, and we add, and sometimes we oppose. I believe that the government that did an outstanding job during the session's debates built the necessary bridges with parliament for a productive and constructive dialogue. Everyone attests to that."

In his reply to the same question, Tazi drew a comparison by saying: "In light of the deliberations that occurred during the fall and the extraordinary sessions, we can say that our relations with the government are very similar to the position the Moroccan soccer team is in. We pass the ball well, we maneuver and we charge forward, but we cannot score any points. Therefore, we will be very pleased if some day we are able to overcome this situation and score the decisive point."

12502

SUDAN

Garang Surveys Military, Political Progress of SPLM

EA1652203 (Clandestine) Radio of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army in English

1300 GMT 16 May 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Today, Monday, the 16th of May 1988, Radio SPLA will have a continuous 1-hour broadcast marking the fifth anniversary of the formation of SPLM/SPLA. In this broadcast, Radio SPLA will bring you the speech of the SPLM/SPLA leader, Comrade John Garang de Mabior.

[Garang—live or recorded] Dear compatriots in the SPLM/SPLA, dear fellow compatriots who are working day and night for the return of justice and lasting peace to our country and people: I greet you in the name of our martyred and wounded heroes who have shed their precious blood in pursuit of justice, equality, and human dignity and the land of diverse [as heard].

Compatriots, today your popular revolution is 5 years old. On this historic occasion, I, on behalf of the movement's leadership and membership, congratulate the Sudanese masses for their unfailing support and ourselves in the SPLM/SPLA for not betraying the aspirations of our people. Over the last 5 years, the SPLM/SPLA has not only survived, but has grown from strength to strength and victory to victory. Again, for the achievement made by the SPLM/SPLA over this period, the credit goes to the voluntary support of our masses, revolutionary intelligentsia, and the great sacrifices made by the SPLA fighting force.

Countrymen, when we detonated this revolution 5 years ago, we were only several hundred. Now, both open and secret membership of the movement runs into tens of thousands. This quantitative growth has been matched by qualitative transformation. Each experience we have undergone, be it hardship, setback, or success, has enriched us. And this has in turn become part of our revolutionary experience and contribution. As we learn from the experience of other revolutionaries in our country and elsewhere, the 5 years accumulated experience of the SPLM is available and valuable to the Sudanese revolution and to revolution in general.

Comrades-in-arms, some of us can remember one day in 1984, a time when someone wrote that the movement was going to collapse in a matter of months. Since then, wishful thinkers have written our obituaries over and over again. We have not vanished. But some of our opponents have left the political scene forever.

President Numayri is now living in exile. The regime of 15 generals is but a part of history. We have outlived Sadiq-one and sadiq-two governments, and as I talk today, Sadiq-three government just got installed yesterday after 10 months of unprecedented political crises in the country. We shall talk about Sadiq-three government another day. Suffice it to mention in passing that it is not a government of national unity as proclaimed, but rather a government of national disunity, disaster, and disintegration. And this we will stop from happening.

Comrades-in-arms, in the military field, you are now in control of 11 district headquarters. These [are] Kapoeta, Pibor, Chukudum, Yirol, Pochala, Boma, Kongor, Jokau, Ler, Adok, Tonga, and Paryang, and many other small towns.

The whole countryside of war zone one is yours. Five years ago, we were confined to Upper Nile, now we only have to count places where we are not present in war zone one. To be specific, we are everywhere in war zone one except in government-controlled garrisons.

In war zone two, we are effectively contesting Southern Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan.

Compatriots, military victories, as they are, become important when they serve to achieve political goals. On the political side, we have been active since the inception of your popular revolution. We have held many lengthy discussions with fellow Sudanese, with a view of arriving at a satisfactory political solution to the conflict. Our efforts, however, have been frustrated by the forces of sectarianism, but we are happy that the forces working for peace, justice and equality are many in our country. But although those who do not want us to achieve peace create problems, we shall never abandon the search for peace. This is why our delegations have been meeting Sudanese politicians and parties and travelling to parts of Africa to explain our desire for a just and honorable peace. Internally, we shall continue to work with the forces of peace and democracy and against the forces of catastrophe, those of the various forms of sectarianism that have afflicted the Sudan for the last 32 years.

Compatriots, the movement's patience may surprise others, but with it we have been able to remain united and even to accept among our ranks our fellow countrymen who have differed with us in the past. In this way the movement has achieved greater unity and has minimized loss of lives among citizens of one country. On this point, I take the opportunity to congratulate Comrade Gordon Kong and his officers and men of Anyanya II for the courageous and very responsible decision they

took to match ranks and effort with the SPLA. By this, Comrade Gordon Kong and the comrades of Former Anyanya II have proved wrong Khartoum's obnoxious policy and practice of divide and rule, of playing one tribe against another while they bask in comfort in Khartoum.

Compatriots, with our political victories, our military victories grew and multiplied. Similarly, with our military victories, our political victories grew and multiplied, and this shall be the process until all the aims and objectives of the SPLM-SPLA are achieved. [passage omitted: Garang reads SPLM goals as stated in July 1983 manifesto and speeches]

Compatriots, these are the objectives of the SPLM-SPLA as restated from a manifesto in my speech of March 22d, 1985, over radio SPLA, 2 weeks before the fall of dictator Numayri. Some of these objectives are being achieved and even the advocates of sectarianism cannot avoid using our slogans, such as the Sudan Problem. We have also advanced the slogan of a new Sudan, which the advocates of sectarianism cannot avoid to appropriate even without meaning it.

But compatriots, for us to say that our achievements over the past 5 years have solved our national problems is not realistic. Among one of our major problems is that the war period has coincided with drought, with its attendant famine in many parts of the Sudan, particularly in war zone one, and especially in northern Bahr al-Ghazal, northern and eastern Upper Nile and parts of eastern Equatoria. Perhaps up to 3 million people in these areas are faced with certain death from starvation. As part of its war policy of genocide, not only does the government in Khartoum not care, but on the contrary they beat the drums of happiness that this is happening.

The problem of famine as a result of the continental drought is compounded by the problem of government-sponsored tribal militias that have enslaved or driven people away from their homes and looted their properties in northern Bahr al-Ghazal, Bentiu, and northern Upper Nile. These two disasters, one government-made — the tribal militias — and the other nature-made — the drought — have forced thousands of our people to seek refuge in neighboring countries. There are also citizens who, in their homes and bushes, face famine exposure and diseases. These victims, whether abroad or within the country, in the towns or in the countryside, are in desperate need of help. I take this opportunity on behalf of the SPLM-SPLA leadership and on behalf of those who are suffering, to appeal to nongovernmental organizations, to governments and individuals, to urgently, on an emergency basis, come to the rescue of these suffering Sudanese.

The movement recently agreed with the ICRC [International Committee of Red Cross] in this regard. But the problem is of a magnitude perhaps not seen anywhere before, and I therefore appeal to and welcome all other

humanitarian organizations, in addition to the ICRC, to urgently find ways and means to provide and reach relief assistance to southern Sudan. The movement will assist such organizations in all ways possible and, as they start, the movement is immediately reorganizing and easing up the Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association, SRRA, so as to enable it to meet this challenge and effectively work with the various international relief organizations.

To conclude this brief message, on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the founding of the SPLM, I again congratulate all SPLA forces everywhere for their steadfastness and perseverance, outliving Numayri-one, Numayri-two, al-Sadiq-one, al-Sadiq-two and now al-Sadiq-three governments. I want to assure SPLA forces supporters and sympathizers everywhere that the movement is stronger more than at any other time before, and that very many more victories are around the corner.

Finally, I appeal to all the forces of democracy, peace, justice, and unity in our urban areas to converge and merge their efforts with the SPLM-SPLA, to realize a secular consensus and Sudanism [as heard] consensus. This is where the future and glory of the Sudan lie, not in sectarianism. And to the Sudanese Muslim community, as today is the end of the holy month of Ramadan and the beginning of the 'Id holiday, I end by wishing you a happy 'Id holiday and hope that the sectarian parties will, as the new year begins, appreciate the fact that unity, peace, and prosperity can only come to the Sudan through the Kokadam process of dialogue. This is my wish to the Sudanese people for the new year. It is the only way out. The struggle for justice and human dignity continues and victory is certain. Long live the SPLM-SPLA! Long live the struggle of the Sudanese people! Victory to the masses!

Press Surveys Background, Party Affiliations of Ministerial Hopefuls

Ummah Party's Muhammad al-Mustafa 'Umar 45000085 Khartoum AL-RAYAH in Arabic 9 May 88 p 1

[Text] Information was circulated yesterday in the founding assembly among the Ummah Party deputies about the party's nomination of Engineer Muhammad al-Mustafa 'Umar to occupy the seat of minister of energy and mining.

A number of members of the parliamentary body in the Ummah Party confirmed this news, declared their support for this candidature, and described Engineer Muhammad al-Mustafa 'Umar, a member of the founding assembly, as excelling in an uncommon efficiency and a great capacity for work.

It is worth mentioning that Deputy Muhammad al-Mustafa 'Umar graduated from the Engineering College at Khartoum University at the beginning of the Seventies and won the latest elections in District 208 in southern Al-Ubayyid

Party Ministerial Portfolios

45000085 Khartoum AL-SIYASAH in Arabic
10 May 88 p 1

[Report by Mu'tasim Mahmud]

[Excerpts] Political events yesterday quickly neared a more comprehensive agreement on various issues under discussion, and in particular the operation of constitutional posts at all levels of the constitutional structure. It is now certain that Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, the prime minister, will announce the formation of the new Cabinet during the next 48 hours, in or before the important press conference which AL-SIYASAH has alluded to before and which will be held at 10:00 A.M. tomorrow in the General Secretariat building of the Council of Ministers.

Concerning the Ministry of Industry and the Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Relief, which were a point of conflict between the Democratic Unionist Party [DUP] and the National Islamic Front [NIF], Dr 'Ali al-Hajj, head of the NIF political office, who met with Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi yesterday, said that the two ministries were in the NIF's portfolio, as were [the post of] attorney general and [the Ministry of] Cooperation, Trade, and Supply. It is likely, according to his belief, that the fifth [NIF] ministry will be Wire and Wireless Communications and not Energy.

In addition, the five Southern ministries will be Regional Coordination and Local Government, Communications, Transportation, Animal Resources, and Labor and Social Security, but the Ministry of Tourism and Aviation will go to the Sudanese National Party (Joint Command) which has nominated its secretary general Zakaria Azraq to fill the post. It is well known that the second half of the party (the Father Ghabbush wing) stands in the opposition ranks among the African parties.

The NIF has presented the names of its candidates to the prime minister so that his excellency may choose one from among the three candidates nominated by the NIF for each ministry. In spite of the fact that the NIF leadership at all levels has refused to disclose its candidates, predictions are that Hafiz al-Shaykh al-Zaki is the strongest candidate to fill the post of attorney general and it is unlikely that 'Ali 'Uthman Muhammad Taha will occupy the position due to the weakness of his legal experience, in that he left the judiciary as a third-class judge. In the Ministry of Industry, the name of Dr 'Abd-al-Wahhab 'Uthman, NIF member of the parliamentary body, has emerged. Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman has been nominated for the Ministry of Refugees and

Immigrants. As for the Ministry of Cooperation, Trade, and Supply, the name of Dr Ahmad al-Tijani, head of the NIF economic office, has been raised.

After deciding on the Ministry of Defense's operational independence, Lt Gen (Retired) Yusif Ahmad Yusif from the DUP, Maj Gen (Retired) Burmah Nasir from the Ummah Party, and Brig Gen (Retired) Al-Fatih 'Abdun from the NIF met yesterday to offer their nominations to the prime minister. By taking turns, four nominees were agreed upon and presented to the prime minister. They are: Brig Gen (Retired) Khalid al-Sadiq Awnsah, who was separated from the armed forces by a verdict of irresponsibility and desertion for participating in the Hasan Husayn corrective coup, Gen (Retired) 'Abd-al-Majid Hamid Khalil, who was also separated for irresponsibility along with 22 of the armed forces commanders when they resisted and objected to the situation of that time, Brig Gen (Retired) Hasan 'Uthman al-'Umdah, who now works in the Arab Gulf and was separated among the 22 officers above, and finally, Gen Fawzi Ahmad al-Fadil, current commander-in-chief of the People's Armed Forces, who some believe is more needed in his post as commander-in-chief, especially after his successes at Kurmuk, Qaysan, Bor and other battlefields with the rebel forces.

SYRIA

Two New Canals Facilitate Irrigation of More Land

Damascus *AL-BA'TH* in Arabic 21 Mar 88 p 5

[Article by Hasan Hamshu: "A Good Start to Better Utilization of the Waters of the 'Asi"]

[Text] A ray of hope concerning better utilization of the waters of the 'Asi River has begun to gleam on the horizon in the form of the 5-canal project in the upper reaches of the 'Asi near the Syrian-Lebanese border.

For it is at this point that the 'Asi River enters Syrian territory coming from its source in al-Hirmil at a rate of about 10 cubic meters per second. Some of this flow goes through five old, eroded, and dilapidated canals at a rate

of 5 cubic meters per second to irrigate an area of not more than 6,000 hectares within a region which is essentially a primary settlement region that does not need all that water, since what is left, that being approximately half, or 3.5 cubic meters per second, is the sum total of what goes into the rest of the lands of the region to irrigate the entire 'Asi basin. In view of this unreasonable distribution of the 'Asi waters coming into the region, the general directorate of the 'Asi basin decided to replace these five canals with two main canals. The first, called the Jawsiyah canal and located east of the 'Asi, will combine the Jawsiyah and Rablah canals into one. It will extend 19 km to the lands of al-Qasir around the plant nursery, passing by the spring of 'Ayn al-Sakhinah. So far, seven kilometers of it have been completed, and it will irrigate 400 hectares of land east of the 'Asi at a flow of 2 cubic meters per second.

The second canal is west of the 'Asi. It will take the place of the three remaining canals, the al-Nahriyyah, Zayti, and al-Mu'aysirah canals, and it will be called the al-Mu'aysirah canal. This canal, which will pass through Lebanese territory as one canal, will then branch into two canals within Syrian territory to irrigate 6000 hectares at a rate of 2.5 cubic meters per second. The first branch of the canal will irrigate the lands that used to be watered from the Zayti and al-Nahriyyah canals, while the waters of the second will flow to the Zayti Dam, which is to be built. It is estimated that its storage capacity will be 80 million cubic meters, which is expected to meet the need of Hims Province for water up to the year 2030, when the province's drinking water requirement will reach 165 million cubic meters a year.

In other words, the outcome of this project will be an increase in irrigated lands from 6,000 to 10,000 hectares with amounts to less than those being drawn now, and there will be a reduction in what is being lost in the existing canals.

As we mentioned, the project is a good start to a new concept that will lead us to better utilization of the 'Asi River. This project must be accompanied by other projects on this river, so that we may be able to gain control over all its water coming into the country.

12547

AFGHANISTAN

Afghan-Soviet Protocol on Planning Signed
46000138a Kabul *THE KABUL TIMES* in English
19 Apr 88 p 2

[Text] A protocol on the delivery of equipment and spare parts to different departments for the year 1989 was signed in the State Committee for Planning between the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union.

As per this protocol, the Soviet Union will render technical and economic assistance to power energy, geology, gas and chemical industries, transport and irrigation, construction, education, public health and agriculture projects in Afghanistan.

The protocol was signed by Sultan Hussain, first vice president of the State Committee for planning, and Alexander F. Petrov, Counsellor for Economic Affairs of the Soviet embassy in Kabul.

/09599

Arms Seized
46000141b Kabul *THE KABUL TIMES* in English
22 Apr 88 p 4 txt

[Text] Weapons and ammunition of extremist groups including surface to surface rockets, recoilless cannon, mortars, rocket launchers, Dahshaka, twenty bags of explosives and thousands of rounds of ammunition were seized by the security forces in Tormoz region, Nangarhar province.

07310

Kunduz-Tajek SSR Construction Protocol Signed
46000138b Kabul *THE KABUL TIMES* in English
19 Apr 88 p 4

[Text] Kunduz, April 16 (BIA)—A protocol on construction and concrete of head dams and water canals in Kunduz province was signed between the province and technical department of Ministry of Irrigation of Tajek SSR recently. The protocol was signed on the Afghan side by representative of Kunduz provincial party committee, and on the Soviet side by the head of a Tajek SSR delegation currently on a visit to this country.

On the basis of the protocol, the head dam of Naqi canal, irrigation canals of state farms covering an area of 63,000 hectares of land in Kunduz province, Orta Blakhi state farm and the head dam of Archi district canal will be constructed and concretized on modern lines.

/09599

1 Billion AFS Set Aside for Irrigation
46000137 Kabul *THE KABUL TIMES* in English
17 Apr 88 p 2

[Text] Over one billion Afs. have been earmarked for improving irrigation networks this year.

It is envisaged that 256 head dams, 500 underground canals (Kariz) and various irrigation establishments will be repaired and rebuilt under the plan. Irrigation will be provided to over 850,000 hectares of land in different parts of country aside for this, 1900 hectares will come under irrigation in Kokcha project of Badakhshan province and Lashkary project of Nimroz province.

Similarly irrigation networks of Helmand valley irrigation project which irrigates an area of 8000 hectares of land will be improved. Also 900 hectares of new lands will be reclaimed in Sardeh area of Ghazni. According to a source of the ministry of irrigation and water resources, 120,000 hectares of pasture land will be supplied with irrigation under the plan.

/09599

Goals of the Islamic University Discussed
46000139 Kabul *THE KABUL TIMES* in English
21 Apr 88 p 4

[Interview with Mohammad Seddiq Sailani, president of Islamic Research Centre, by Naflsa, KT correspondent: "Tasks Before Islamic University in RA"]

[Text] The Islamic University has been opened in the Republic of Afghanistan. The university has two wings—research and studies. It consists of three faculties covering subjects on law and Fiq, theology, Islamic instructions, Shariat, Arabic language and literature and teachers' specialization.

These faculties would play an important role in training judges, attorneys, experienced teachers for religious schools and raising the level of imams and preachers of the country.

Following are excerpts from the interview granted by Mohammad Seddiq Sailani, President of Islamic Research Centre to KT correspondent:

Q: What are the conditions under which students are admitted to the Islamic University?

A: Preference is given to the graduates of religious madrasas like Darul Olum Madrasa and Abu Hanifa, Assadia, Madrasa and other students of religious schools from the provinces. Students of 13th and 14th standards in religious schools are eligible for the freshman and sophomore sections of the university.

It should be pointed out that 12th grade students of general schools are also admitted to the university. For instance, 110 students have been admitted to this university through entrance exams this year. Students of religious colleges can also be recruited in the university for completion of pursuing their specialization.

The Islamic University awards bachelor and master's degrees to its graduates. Students are exempted from military service till the end of their courses in this university. Refresher courses are also conducted for the teachers of religious madrasas and schools, preachers and imams of mosques and takias in the university.

Q: How the teachers of the Islamic University are employed? Would foreign instructors conduct teaching in the university?

A: The students of the university would be taught by experienced teachers of Faculty of Theology and scholars of the Islamic Research Centre. As regards its curriculum, it should be stated that the curriculum of the university presently is provided as per the curriculum of Kabul University after consultation with educational scholars, members of the Islamic Research Centre, teachers of Faculties of Publicity and Culture and members of the high council of the university. The term of courses in the university is four years.

We also expect the contribution of teachers of foreign Islamic universities, particularly the teachers of Islamic universities of Baghdad, Damascus, Libya, Al Azhar, Iran and Pakistan. The university will accept foreign students, too.

Q: How much money have been allocated for the construction of the building and other expenses of the university?

A: Due to the deep respect for Islam, the government of the Republic of Afghanistan has allocated a certain sum to the university. All facilities will be provided to the students. Presently, the students of the university are staying in Kabul University hostels.

Q: Please give some information about the Islamic Research Centre.

A: The Islamic Research Centre was inaugurated at the end of HS 1365 in Kabul and the inauguration of the Islamic University is the result of one year's research work of this centre. As President Najibullah, inaugurating this centre, said: "Conferences and scientific Islamic seminars would be held in this centre at national and international level. It would be changed into a religious studying centre." Researchers are carried out in various religious subjects. Books are compiled and translated. The centre also renders assistance to the youth desirous of pursuing research Islamic subjects. In this it will cooperate with other educational centres of the country.

The departments of Fiq, law, the history of Islam, beliefs and philosophy, Prophet's saying and interpretation are a part of the work of the centre.

To welcome the 10th anniversary of April Revolution, it would publish six books on different subjects.

/09599

Education in Border Provinces Discussed
46000140a Kabul *THE KABUL TIMES* in English
24 Apr 88 p 4

[Text] Elimination of illiteracy, popularization of sound balanced education, instruction in mother tongue, universal primary education and expansion of professional and higher education are the vital tasks undertaken by the PDPA and the government of Afghanistan with success achieved. The border provinces of the country are no exception in this regard; indeed they get special attention.

Over 48,000 children have been admitted to primary schools in the current Afghan year in the border provinces of the country raising the total member of students in border provinces to 175,241. Over 20 schools have newly been set up at a cost of 70 million Afs and 30 schools rehabilitated in border provinces. To improve educational conditions in these provinces 182 tons of teaching materials have been supplied so far.

Mohammad Shafi president of planning department of the Ministry of Education elucidated on the above:

Around 3,500 students were admitted in 104 schools of Badakhshan province raising the total number of students in the province to 23,352.

There are 13,655 students in 34 schools of Kunar province, 1,109 of them in the first grade. Around 11.6 million Afghanis have been allocated for building two schools, one pioneer palace and rehabilitation of other schools and hostels in the province. Ten tons of books and other teaching material have been sent to the province.

In Nangarhar province, 10,342 students have been admitted in the first grade. There are in all 52,150 students studying in 73 schools.

Five new schools were built in the province and 18 tons of teaching material given to the schools.

As many as 8,081 students are studying in 22 schools which have 133 teachers in Paktia province. Of them 1,335 students were fresh admissions in the first grade. One school was built in the province and 11 tons of teaching material supplied to the province.

In 34 schools of Kandahar province, there are 16,000 students, 2,050 of them newly admitted. There are 400 teachers in these schools.

Out of 12,000 students in Helmand schools, 2,240 students are in the first grade, 26 tons of teaching material have been supplied to the province.

In Nimroz province, 720 students were admitted in the first grade and the total number of students in the province comes to 3,715.

Over 46,000 students are receiving training in 94 schools having 1,042 teachers in Herat province. Of the above, 12,025 children were newly admitted. 24 tons of teaching material were provided to them.

In Farah province, there are in all 7,277 students. Of them 3,229 are newly admitted children.

Over 7,000 boys and girls study in 25 schools of Khost division. There are 132 teachers. Three million Afghans have been allocated for construction of one school in the division and 37 tons of teaching material were sent to them.

It is to be mentioned that in advancing education in the border provinces, the Ministry of Tribes and Frontier Affairs has played an active and tangible role.

Zalmi Hotak, president of publication department of the ministry said that 40 students from the border provinces and 93 graduates of Khushal Khan Lycee were sent abroad for higher education. The youth club of Rahman Baba Lycee was opened and sports equipment provided to the lycee. Also to improve the food given to the students of the school and repair the hostel of the lycee, a large sum was sanctioned by the Ministry.

07310

New Schools Opened

46000140b Kabul *THE KABUL TIMES* in English
29 Apr 88 p 3

[Text] On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the April Revolution, a new building of 24 classrooms of Tajwar Sultana was inaugurated on April 25 by Abdul Hamid Muhtat, deputy prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan.

The school was constructed at a cost of 46,000,000 Afghans from the state development budget.

It was constructed by Helmand construction unit in two years and will accommodate 1,000 students.

According to another report, the new building of 24 classroom school of New Abad Pulicharkhi was also inaugurated on that day by Abdul Hamid Muhtat.

The school, which was constructed by the education ministry unit at a cost of 40,000,000 Afghans from the state development budget, will accommodate 1,800 students.

07310

Spring Sowing Planned, Government To Help

46000141a Kabul *THE KABUL TIMES* in English
26 Apr 88 p 1

[Text] An area of 1,554,000 hectares of land by traditional methods and 530,000 hectares of land was cultivated in dry irrigation during the spring sowing campaign of the current year in Afghanistan.

Implementation of the spring sowing campaign, which started in the middle of March with the assistance of the government, continues all over the country.

In the spring sowing campaign of the current year an area of 78,487 hectares of land was cultivated through agriculture cooperatives and 970 hectares through state farms.

Also based on the spring sowing campaign plan, cotton will be cultivated in an area of 7,500 hectares and sugar beet in 1,500 hectares.

In order to increase agricultural production, necessary facilities have been provided by the government at a cost of 87,000,000 Afghans in the shape of pesticides and insecticides 866,760 tons of fertilizer, 5,250 tons improved cotton seeds, 30 tons of sugar beet seeds.

07310

BANGLADESH

Papers Report Reaction to U.S. Ambassador's Statement

Opposition Liaison Committee

46001460 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English
21 Apr 88 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Liaison Committee of the Opposition alliances on Wednesday resented the statement of Mr. Willard A. DePree, US Ambassador in Bangladesh regarding the internal affairs of Bangladesh. It hoped that he would refrain from making such confusing statement.

The Liaison Committee statement came following the statement made by the US Ambassador at a function on Tuesday.

The Liaison Committee said that the people did not forget the moves of the US Ambassador for an understanding between the Government and the Opposition in the past. It termed the move as an attempt to keep

Ershad Government in power. The committee viewed that his statement regarding request for reducing the US assistance tantamount to blaming the democratic Opposition forces.

The committee said that the Opposition forces never made such request.

Seven-Party Denial

46001460 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English
23 Apr 88 p 1

[Text] The Seven-party Alliance has disowned the statement purported to have been issued by the Liaison Committee of three major opposition alliances resenting the views of the U.S. Ambassador in Dhaka.

"No representative of the Seven-party Alliance of BNP was present at the Liaison Committee meeting that decided upon the statement criticising the US Ambassador published in a section of the press on April 21," alliance sources told *THE NEW NATION* yesterday.

"We do not know of the statement, the contents of which are against BNP manifesto," the sources added.

The statement in the name of Liaison Committee deplored the U.S. Ambassador for alleged interference in the internal affairs of Bangladesh saying people did not forget his moves for an understanding between the Government and the opposition in the past.

Awami League Criticism

46001460 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English
23 Apr 88 pp 1, 8

[Text] Awami League has described the United States Ambassador's remarks on aid as an "indication of a deep conspiracy against the people of Bangladesh" and termed it as an instance of direct interference in the internal affairs of the country."

In a statement, released by Syed Fazlul Haq, Office Secretary of Awami League, the party said, Ambassador Willard dePree had in the past in open statements called upon the opposition alliances and parties to arrive at a rapprochement with the Government with a motive to mislead the people's movement for democratic rights.

His latest remarks about US aid "is not only ridiculous but also remind us of the American conspiracies against the Bangladesh people during the independence struggle", Awami League statement said and added that his opinion on suggestions to reduce aid is nothing but attempts to sow confusion among the people about the current movement.

Awami League pointed out that its "policy regarding the aid is very much clear to all. We believe that aid is necessary for the welfare of the people who bear its responsibility. When we see that it is not being utilised

for the welfare of the people rather being spent to keep the authoritarian groups in power with the people shoudering the burden of the loan, we cannot remain a silent spectator as a political party. For this reason we have categorically stated that only a democratic government can utilise the aid properly and that the people are not bound to bear the responsibility for the money used to retain the autocrats in power.

The statement further said, "the ambassador also tried to mislead the people with gimmicks about his country's aid. The aid programme run by the United States in Bangladesh has never helped its economic growth. It has failed to build any new industries or create job opportunities. Rather, their assistance programme has only increased the country's dependence on external sources, inflation and unemployment. It has helped create a new breed of plunderers to fulfill their conditions for the aids. At the same time, the middle class and the lower middle class have turned into paupers and thousands have become unemployed due to disinvestment," the statement added.

Awami League urged all concerned to refrain from making such statements and appealed to the people to remain alert against "such conspiracies and continue their movement till victory".

It also reminded the concerned quarters that the people had never accepted foreign domination in the past and would not accept it in future either. It also reminded the people of the US government's support to Pakistan in 1971 during Bangladesh's war of independence.

/06662

Soviet Specialists To Train Power Station Workers

46001466 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 29 Apr 88 p 3

[Text] Seven Soviet specialists will be deputed soon to Bangladesh for imparting training to PDB personnel on operation and maintenance of power units including 210 M.W. unit at Ghorasal, built under Soviet assistance, reports BSS.

The training will be conducted for one year from next month at the Ghorasal Training Centre of the Power Development Board, according to a Press release.

The training to be given by the thermal power experts would go a long way to help PDB personnel in operation and maintenance work of power station as well as in the power supply reliability.

A supplementary contract was signed in Dhaka on Thursday accordingly between the PDB and Technoexpert of the USSR involving a cost of about Taka 50 lakh to be paid by the PDB.

/06662

Dhaka Denies Transit Facility Offer to India
46001462 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English
26 Apr 88 pp 1, 8

[Text] The government has declined that India has been offered railway transit facility through Bangladesh, as reported in a section of the press yesterday, reports ENA.

Such a canard is not only motivated and misleading, but regrettable also, a Press Note issued yesterday by the Ministry of Communications said.

In reality, Bangladesh has no transit agreement with India and hence, question of giving transit facility through the country does not arise, the Press Note further said.

It said no new agreement on transportation of goods by train has been signed with India after 1972-75 or no such new facility has so far been given to that country.

/06662

Dhaka Protests Violation of Airspace by India
46001469 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 29 Apr 88 p 10

[Text] Bangladesh has drawn the notice of Indian authorities to reported violations of the country's air space by the Indian aircraft, reports BSS.

Most of these violations have reportedly taken place in Thakurgoan and Panchagarh districts and Indian authorities had been told to prevent recurrence of such violations, Foreign Secretary Nazrul Islam told newsmen at his regular briefing.

He said Indian side informed Bangladesh that there were some training institutes in the region near Bangladesh border and the trainee pilots had been strictly instructed to fly east-west direction and not north-south direction to avoid such violations.

Mr. Islam informed newsmen that the ministry had received reports of such violations recently, latest being on April 22 by an Indian helicopter and a fighter plane. "We have provided details to the Indian government conveying our concern at the violations of our air space and asked them to ensure that such intrusions did not recur in future" he said.

About other matters relating to Bangladesh and India, the Foreign Secretary mentioned about the constructions by India on the Mahananda River. He said, constructions on border and common rivers were a matter of Indo-Bangladesh Joint Rivers commission to examine and it would be examined whether the reported constructions by India on river Mahananda had violated the terms of agreement of the commission.

Pointing to a report published on Thursday in a daily about efforts to normalise relations between Bangladesh and India, Mr. Islam discounted such reports, saying these could be "misleading" and cause unnecessary irritation in ties. He also quoted a letter by Indian Deputy High Commissioner in Dhaka in which he had also denied the veracity of the report.

/06662

Country Signs First Long-Term Trade Pact With Albania
46001467 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English
30 Apr 88 p 8

[Text] Bangladesh and Albania has for the first time signed a long-term trade agreement to strengthen bilateral trade relations, an official source said here yesterday, reports BSS.

The two countries have also signed a barter protocol envisaging exchange of goods worth U.S. dollars 8.2 million.

The two countries have signed an agreement on banking to facilitate transaction in the operation of barter trade. Bangladesh will import various items including cement, coal, copper road and dry fruits from Albania and will export jute goods, hides and skin, tea and other items to Albania.

The trade talks between Bangladesh and Albania were held on April 26 at Tirana. Bangladesh delegation was led by Joint Secretary of Commerce Ministry and the Albanian side was led by their Vice Minister of Foreign Trade.

/06662

Paper Gives Details of Dhaka-Bangkok Agreements
46001457 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 31 Mar 88 pp 1, 10

[Excerpt] Bangkok, Mar 30—Four agreements were signed between Bangladesh and Thailand here today on investment, maritime, executive programme under cultural cooperation and news exchange between the national news agencies of the two countries, reports BSS.

The agreements were signed immediately after the talks between President Hussain Muhammad Ershad and Prime Minister of Thailand Prem Tinsulanonda.

The two leaders witnessed the signing of the agreements at the Government House. They expressed their firm belief that the accord would further strengthen the already existing bonds of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

The investment agreement was signed by Foreign Minister Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury and Thai Foreign Minister Siddhi Savetsila on behalf of their respective government. The agreement envisaged promotion of joint venture investments in various fields and investment protection.

The maritime agreement was signed by Water Transport Minister A.K.M. Mayeedul Islam and Thai Communications Minister Banharn Silpa Archa. The agreement would facilitate direct and regular shipping services between the two countries for promoting trade and cooperation.

The exchange of programme agreement under the existing Thai-Bangladesh cultural accord was signed by Bangladesh Ambassador to Thailand Kazi Anwarul Masud and Foreign Secretary of Thailand Kasem Seeri.

Under the programme, the two countries would exchange cultural programmes and cultural troupe regularly between them.

The news exchange agreement was signed by the Managing Director and Chief Editor of National News Agency Bangladesh Sangbad Sangstha (BSS) Mahbubul Alam and Director General of Mass Communication Organisation of Thailand Montri Chenvidyakarn.

Under the agreement, Bangladesh national news agency BSS and the Thai national news agency TNA would exchange news for promotion of better understanding between the two countries for an initial period of two years.

/06662

Parliament Opens, Legality Questioned
46001461 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 25 Apr 88 pp 1, 8

[Excerpt] The fourth Jatiya Sangsad goes into session this (Monday) morning amidst tight security and countrywide half-day hartal call by the mainstream Opposition alliances and parties.

The journalists also announced programmes to boycott the Parliament session this morning in protest against Government ban on the publication of the BANGLAR BANI and other weeklies and operation of BBC in Bangladesh.

The new parliament elected through polls on March 3 which was boycotted by the main Opposition parties including the two past ruling parties—Awami League and BNP. The Government side expressed its determination to earn credibility to the present Jatiya Sangsad with hectic parliamentary business including constitutional amendments on certain national issues while the main Opposition parties have already questioned the

right of this Parliament to make laws charging that the fourth Jatiya Sangsad was elected in a farcical election where not taken one percent of the electorate participated.

The fourth Jatiya Sangsad session evoked large scale controversies in the political circle.

Awami League chief Sheikh Hasina told *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* that the nation had not accepted the farcical election on March 3 and the members of this parliament who have not been elected by even one per cent of the voters had no right to make any law and decide any national issue. "We shall continue our relentless struggle to establish democracy by a sovereign Parliament elected through a free and fair polls under a neutral government", she asserted

BNP chief Begum Khaleda Zia said that the Parliament elections held by this Government were total farce and mockery to the electorate. She reiterated her resolve to continue the involvement against the present Government that buried democracy and destroyed the election system in the country. She termed the fourth Jatiya Sangsad as "illegal" and demanded free and fair election under a neutral Government.

Major Opposition parties and the intellectuals of the country in their statement questioned the legality of the fourth Jatiya Sangsad which they said was elected without the participation of the voters. They charged the present Government for destroying the democratic institutions, snatching the fundamental rights of the people, alleged misappropriating the foreign aid and unleashing oppression on the Opposition.

But the Speaker Mr. Shamsul Huda Chowdhury, while giving his reaction on the beginning of the fourth Jatiya Sangsad session told *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* "with this session of the new parliament the journey to democracy has overcome another obstacle and it is a hopeful sign for the country's politics". He stressed the need for viable functioning of the parliament for ensuring "stable democratic process" in the country.

Controversial Issues

The new parliament is likely to take up certain bills on controversial issues like Zilla Parishad, State Religion and Permanent High Court Benches outside the capital amending the constitution. The Zilla Parishad Bill ensuring the participation of the Armed Forces in administration though passed in the last parliament had to be sent back by the President under the pressure of countrywide movement. This time the bill will again be moved in the house amending the provision of the participation of the Armed Forces. Though President Ershad made public announcements for bringing Bills to make Islam as state religion this move had sparked off nation wide reaction from the major Opposition parties both fundamentalists and left organisations. Even the

loyal Opposition groups to the government like COP and Freedom Party had protested such move. The issue will be discussed in the first session of the Jatiya Sangsad but any Bill in this regard is unlikely in the current session. Similarly, the move to amend the Constitution to ensure permanent High Court Benches outside Dhaka is facing stiff resistance from the Opposition parties as well as the lawyers of the country who had been boycotting the courts twice a week in protest against the decentralisation of the judiciary violating the Constitution. President Ershad assured a delegation of lawyers who met him on Saturday of bringing about necessary constitutional amendment for permanent Benches of High Court outside Dhaka.

However, the fourth Jatiya Sangsad goes into session with an apprehension that it will fail to complete its full term like the past three Jatiya Sangsads. None of the country's past three Parliaments could survive even three years.

Loyal Opposition

The political circle has already raised doubts as to what viable role the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. A.S.M. Abdur Rab, chief of COP, a loyal Opposition group to the Government, would play in the new Parliament. In his first Press conference as the leader of the Opposition Mr. Rab showered lavish praises on President Ershad and claimed 50 per cent turn over in March 3 Parliament election that embarrassed even the ruling party.

/06662

Minister Tells Features of New National Food Policy

46001456 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English
30 Mar 88 pp 1, 8

[Text] A national food policy was announced yesterday with the prime objectives of attaining self sufficiency in food and building a stock of 15 lakh tons of grains in the country by 1990.

Announcing the policy at a press conference in Dhaka yesterday, Food Minister Sardar Amjad Hossain said that in order to attain self-sufficiency in food by 1990, the country would have to produce 20 million tons of grains.

Under the policy, he said adequate measures would be taken to provide incentive price to the farmers and build up an effective modified rationing system in the country with a view to distributing more foodgrains among the rural poor.

The salient features of the food policy, the first since independence are (a) Attainment of self-sufficiency in food by 1990 (b) Import of foodgrains for overcoming food shortage and building a security food reserve in the country (c) Conducting internal food procurement drive

for providing incentive price to the farmers (d) Building up an effective modified rationing system for distribution of more food grains among the rural poor (e) Distribution of foodgrains free of cost among the distressed people under the Food for Works Programme (f) Strengthening the sale of foodgrains in open market at fair price for making it easily available in the capital and other densely-populated urban areas (g) Reduction of subsidy on foodgrains distribution (h) Building up a proper food security system (i) Making efforts for reducing pressure on rice by consumption of other food items.

(j) Construction and repair of more godowns for proper preservation of foodgrains (k) Reduction of wastage in foodgrains preservation and transportation and (l) providing limited facilities for import of foodgrains in private sector.

The guidelines of the food policy included (1) Taking necessary steps to produce 30 million tons of foodgrains for attaining self-sufficiency in food by 1990 (2) Conducting survey on foodgrains consumptions (3) Fixation of an incentive price for procurement of foodgrains from the farmers and its announcement well before the sowing seasons (4) Building up a foodgrains stock of 15 lakh tons at the end of 1989-90 (5) Taking emergency measure for import if the government stock of foodgrains comes down below nine lakh tons at any time of the year (6) Making efforts for keeping a reserve of foodgrains required for one month in the government godowns to meet any emergency situation arising out of crop failure due to drought, floods, and cyclone (7) Strengthening of the Food for Works and VGD programmes and supply of foodgrains through production-oriented schemes by the Food and Relief ministries for raising the nutrition level of families affected by malnutrition (8) Chalking out a plan involving the lowest possible expenditure for transportation of foodgrains (9) Market control by increasing sale in open market and modified rationing and (10) providing opportunities to the wheat and flour mills enabling those to import quality wheat.

The Food Minister who faced a volley of questions from newsmen said the country was expected to produce 1.63 crore tons of foodgrains, that is, 12 lakh tons short of the target in the current year. He said last year actual production stood at 1.65 crore tons while the target was 1.74 crore tons.

He said this year the government had finally decided to import 31.94 lakh tons of foodgrains. Of this, he said, 21.43 lakh tons of foodgrains were received in the form of grant and aid while the country imported 10.48 lakh tons of foodgrains worth Taka 450.00 crore from its own resources.

In this connection the minister pointed out that the government had already spent Taka 325 crore on account of cash purchase and down payment for the

foodgrains imported on deferred payment basis. He said initially the government had a plan to make cash purchase of 4 lakh tons of foodgrains worth Taka 150 crore from its own resource.

The minister, who was aided by Food Secretary Mr Abidur Rahman and Director General of Food Mr Motazzal Karim while replying to different questions from newsmen said, the subsidy on food was gradually coming down. He said an amount of Taka 47 crore had been earmarked as subsidy on food in the current budget while it was Taka 182 crore in the 1981-82 budget.

Replies to a question, Sardar Amjad Hossain said that the present requirement of foodgrains in the country was 1.72 crore tons. Through the rationing system, he said, 18 lakh tons of foodgrains had been distributed in the first eight months of the current financial year in the country as against 11.6 lakh tons during the corresponding period last year.

The minister said that the wastage of foodgrains in the godowns and on the way was also gradually coming down and added only 1.25 percent of foodgrains went waste out of 40.67 lakh tons handled last year (1986087). He said the wastage of foodgrains was 2.95 percent in 1981-82, the highest in the past six years.

In reply to another question, the Food Minister said that the procurement target of Aman was not achieved this year. He said 49,000 tons of Aman was procured while the target was at 1.20 lakh tons. He said the original procurement target of aman was 2 lakh tons but subsequently it was brought down to 1.20 lakh tons because of the floods.

Sardar Amjad Hossain said that the procurement price of Aman was fixed at Taka 200 per maund this year after estimating the production cost at Taka 186. He said the production cost of Irri and Boro was estimated at Taka 190 per maund this year but their procurement price was yet to be fixed.

/06662

Statistics Bureau Tells Drought Damage Over 10 Years
46001465 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 29 Apr 88 p 7

[Text] Pabna, Apr 27—Droughts, which has become a chronic affair for Bangladesh, destroys, on an average, standing crops over 33,34,000 [as published] acres of land throughout the country. This constitutes nearly 16 per cent of the entire cultivable land in our country. In terms of money, the loss every year has been estimated at Taka 80 crores.

This was the findings arrived at a survey conducted by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. They have found that during 1977 to 1986, in ten years the total losses amounted to Taka 800 crores. The survey report has been published recently.

According to the statistics, North Bengal constitutes 58 per cent of the total cultivable land of the country and drought affects mainly North Bengal every year and damages to standing crops was colossal.

The agricultural statistics show that the total cultivable area in 16 districts of North Bengal stands at 1,10,44,599 [as published] acres of land. Of this total area, nearly 20 lakh acres of land are affected by drought.

Drought has not only been causing damages to the standing crops but it has also been causing ecological changes in the area.

Massive afforestation can create a favourable position which can stand as a deterrent to recurrence of drought. This has been suggested by certain foreign specialists.

The government, however, is approving "massive afforestation" schemes but in reality the thing is quite different. What is happening is that deforestation and indiscriminate cutting of trees are going on for different purpose.

/06662

Papers Report Disputes Over Election Results
46001463 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English
25 Apr 88 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Election Commission has constituted a total of 399 election tribunals throughout the country for disposal of cases relating to the dispute in the recently concluded union parishad polls, reports BSS.

These tribunals have been set up under clause 27 of the Local Government (Union Parishads) Ordinance, 1983.

A candidate can make an appeal to these tribunals challenging the election of the seat from where he or she had contested.

The applications challenging such elections have to be filed to the tribunals within 30 days from the publication of the list of elected candidates in the official gazette.

The candidate himself can file the petition to the tribunal or authorise someone else in writing to file it on his behalf.

An amount of taka five hundred has to be deposited, along with each petition, to any branch of the Sonali Bank or in government treasury or subtreasury in favour of the Returning Officer.

The candidate in his application can seek the verdict of the tribunal on the points that in his place the other candidate has been declared elected illegally or the entire election in his seat be declared null and void.

Meanwhile, Upazila Assistant Judges have been appointed as election tribunals in their respective places. The Assistant Judge, First Court, Dhaka, has been appointed as the tribunal for the areas of Demra, Lalbagh, Gulshan and Mirpur police stations.

The function of election tribunals in 40 upazilas where no Assistant Judges are posted will be carried out by the Assistant Judges in charge of the neighbouring upazilas.

Besides, the Deputy Commissioners of Rangamatti, Bandarban and Khagrachari districts have been appointed as election tribunals since no Assistant Judges are posted in those places.

Local Government Functioning
46001463 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 28 Apr 88 p 1

[Text] The formal functioning of the country's 4,400 Union Parishads (UPs) and the four municipal corporations have become uncertain due to unprecedented large-scale dispute over the elections of chairman and members of UPs and delay in announcement of the results of the elections of ward commissioners of the municipal corporations.

The elections in the four municipal corporations in Dhaka, Chittagong, Khulna and Rajshahi was held on March 3 along with the parliament election. The UP elections were held first on February 10 and again polls were held in large number of centres, where elections had to be postponed due to election disturbances, in eight days from April 9 to April 16. The UP election on February 10 witnessed a wide spread violence, arson and ballot box snatching that led to killings of over two hundred people, unprecedented in the country's local body elections.

The Election Commission could only publish gazette notification about the results of nearly 120 ward commissioners and one-third of the results of the total 175 ward commissioners in four municipal corporations are yet to be announced due to disputes. Enquiries are going on allegations about election rigging in about 50 wards. The oath taking of the ward commissioners in any of the four municipal corporations has not been conducted. The selection of mayors by the Government and the election of deputy mayors by the ward commissioners have become uncertain as the announcement of the results of all ward commissioners is still pending.

The position regarding the announcement of the election results of chairman in 4,400 UPs and members in 39,600 UP wards is more uncertain and no gazette notification

about the results of UP elections could be published by the Election Commission even after two and half months of the election held on February 10.

Writ Petitions

More than 250 writ petitions relating to UP elections have so far been filed before the High Court Division. Of these writs, most have been filed challenging the orders of the Election Commission. Only one bench is now hearing the writ petitions which will take time to dispose of the flow of writs.

The Election Commission received about 10,000 petitions on election disputes. The Commission is continuing to take hearing on these petitions.

It may be mentioned here that a writ petition was filed by the chairman of Matbarchar Union Parishad in Madaripur challenging the November 21, 1987 ordinance of the President that reduced the term of the UPs to three years from five years. In his petition he termed the ordinance as malafide. But, the writ was returned.

The concerned people observe that it is uncertain when all the election disputes in UP elections could be resolved and whether at all the UPs could function normally due to the unprecedented disputes over UP elections. Still clashes are reported as sequel to elections held in different union parishads. Thousands of cases are pending in police stations and upazila and district courts on election clashes and violence.

/06662

Uncertainty as Farakka Agreement With India Expires
46001455 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 17 Apr 88 pp 1, 8

[Text] The present Indo-Bangladesh agreement on the sharing of the Ganges waters at Farakka will expire on May 31 and a meeting between the two neighbours to reach a fresh agreement on the Farakka issue before this period has become uncertain as Bangladesh is yet to receive any positive response from India.

Dhaka sent notes to Delhi in early January proposing a meeting of the Indo-Bangladesh Joint Rivers Commission (JRC) and Joint Committee of Experts (JCE) before the expiry of the present Memorandum Of Understanding (MOU) on sharing of the Ganges waters at Farakka. Though India gave indication of holding a meeting in March it was not held due to India's reticence. Dhaka is now awaiting a reply from Delhi for a meeting of the JRC and JCE. The last meeting of the JCE and JRC were held on November 20 and November 21 respectively.

It may be mentioned here that the present MOU was signed by former Irrigation Minister Anisul Islam Mahmud and his Indian counterpart Mr. B. Shankaranand

on November 22, 1985 ensuring the sharing of the Ganges waters at Farakka for three dry seasons. The first Ganges waters agreement between Bangladesh and India was signed on April 18, 1975 by the then Irrigation Minister late Abdur Rab Serniabat and his Indian counterpart late Jagjivan Ram. The second Indo-Bangladesh Ganges water agreement was signed by former naval chief Rear Admiral Musharraf Hussain Khan, Minister in-charge of the Irrigation Ministry and the Indian Irrigation Minister Mr. Surjit Singh Barnala on November 5, 1977. The first MOU was signed by former Foreign Minister Mr. A.R.S. Doha and his India counterpart Mr. P.V. Narashima Rao on October 7, 1982.

In the absence of any new agreement or extension of the present MOU the sharing of the Ganges waters at Farakka from the next dry season (November-May) will become uncertain for Bangladesh badly affecting a large part of the country.

On the question of augmentation of the flow of the Ganges waters and other common rivers India has not yet submitted the report for the Dhaka-Delhi-Kathmandu tripartite meeting. India agreed to place the report in November last year.

When Bangladesh had been pressing for a minister-level meeting with India to decide on the sharing of the Ganges waters at Farakka before the expiry of the present MOU the absence of any minister for irrigation in the reshuffled cabinet of President Ershad had taken many by surprise.

It was learnt that India is taking plea for delaying the JRC meeting till a new irrigation Minister was sworn in. President Ershad, it was learnt from a government source, is looking for a new figure who will take up negotiations with India to resolve the Farakka issue.

Farakka became an outstanding issue between Bangladesh and India since the unilateral commissioning the barrage by India in '74-75. Like other unresolved issues between Bangladesh and India including the border agreement, South Talpatti and Maritime boundary, the Farakka still remained a positive irritant in Indo-Bangladesh relations.

/06662

New Transit Route to Bhutan To Go Through India

46001454 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English
13 Apr 88 pp 1, 8

[Article by Matiur Rahman]

[Text] Bangladesh and Bhutan are going to have a new transit route through India soon.

Both the countries are carrying out detailed studies for opening the new transit route through Burimari in Bangladesh and Chengraband in India. A Bhutanese official team came to Bangladesh last month to examine the possibility of opening the new route and held talks with Government officials here.

The new rail-cum-road transit route will run from Phuntsoling, the only commercial and business town of Bhutan up to Chengraband in India by train and from Chengraband to Burimari in Bangladesh by road. The land route from Chengraband to Burimari will have to be reconstructed for the transit purposes. The link road remained unutilised for the last 40 years since division of India in 1947.

Both Bangladesh and Bhutan earlier carried out studies for a land-cum-river transit route also through India along the Brahmaputra but it would be more expensive in the context of very modest bilateral trade between the two countries.

Both the countries have a transit route through Fulbari in India and Tetulia in Bangladesh but the land route was badly affected by the last devastating floods.

Meanwhile, bilateral trade between Dhaka and Thimpu is likely to expand following some steps being taken by the two governments. The recent visit of Bangladesh Commerce Secretary to Bhutan was concerned with expansion of bilateral trade.

Bangladesh Government is going to set up a number of display-cum-sale centres in Thimpu and other Bhutanese towns with a view to promoting Bangladesh commodities in the Himalayan land-locked kingdom.

Jute carpets of Bangladesh is very popular in Bhutan and some other Bangladesh quality products like leather products, ceramics, pharmaceutical products, cutleries, toiletries, etc. may be liked by the Bhutanese people, according to official sources.

On the other hand, Bhutan has set up a liaison office at Motijheel in Dhaka to study all the possibilities for exporting her commodities and keep contact with the trade circle in Bangladesh.

Bangladesh is importing dolomite from Bhutan. Besides dolomite, brown cardium will also be imported. Bhutanese fruits like orange and apple are famous and these also could be available at cheaper price in Bangladesh, if imported.

/06662

Indian Television Report on Chittagong Tribes

Scored

46001459 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English
20 Apr 88 p 1

[Text] Indian television "Doordarshan" on Sunday showed a special documentary film highlighting the "woes and agonies" of the tribal people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. It made scurrilous attack against Bangladesh and its "failure" to tackle the problem.

The timing of the documentary has surprised many in Dhaka. The documentary was telecast at a time when the two countries have shown a great deal of understanding on the resolution of the problem.

The two sides have agreed that tribal leaders from Chittagong Hill Tracts along with officials of Bangladesh and India would visit the camps in Tripura to facilitate the return of Chakmas.

Bangladesh High Commissioner in New Delhi has asked for consular facilities to visit the camps in Tripura.

It is reliably learnt that many refugees camps along the Bangladesh border have been closed down and the inmates taken to camps inside Tripura. This has been done to prevent the Chakmas from leaving Tripura unnoticed. There has been several cases of Chakmas returning to Chittagong Hill Tracts, which has not been taken very gracefully by the Indian officials.

A diplomatic observer said it has become a practice with New Delhi to make political issue of the refugees. He specifically mentioned the Chakmas, the Tamils from Sri Lanka and Bangladeshis in 1971. India has always used this as a lever, he said.

The situation in the Chittagong Hill Tracts has vastly improved since the formation of the national committee. Various political and economic measures have already been introduced to instill confidence and trust among the tribal people who were suffering from a sense of despondency.

Persons who have been closely watching the developments in the Chittagong Hill Tracts maintained that if the law enforcing agencies are to be blamed the members of the so-called Shantibahini cannot be condoned for their criminal acts.

A State Department official testifying before the Solarz subcommittee of the US Congress said the situation in the Chittagong Hill Tract area was now better than two or three years ago and substantial economic development activities were going on in that area.

Knowledgeable circle feels that India wants to scuttle the present effort at solving the Chakma refugee problem and to keep alive the problem and use it at a convenient time to put pressure on Bangladesh.

/06662

INDIA

Parliament Discusses U.S. Position on Pakistan Arms

Communist Leader's Remarks

46001477 New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English
21 Apr 88 p 5

[Text] CPI leader Indrajit Gupta on Wednesday cau-
tioned the Government in the Lok Sabha against defence
agreements with the United States which, he said, had
always put conditions, report agencies.

The US had never guaranteed supply of spare parts in
the past and the Government should be extremely cau-
tious, be it purchase of defence equipment or transfer of
technology, Mr Gupta said.

He warned the Government that "its proposed move to
have a slight shift in our foreign policy seeking cooper-
ation with the United States in defence matters was
fraught with serious consequences and dangerous por-
tents to the security of the nation."

Attributing this new thinking in our time-tested policy to
"some weaknesses and vacillations," Mr Gupta
reminded the Government of the Machiavelian nature of
the Americans in bilateral matters as far as India was
concerned.

"Our dealing with them has only brought into focus their
misdeeds and mischievous games and the Government
should know the kind of people with which it sought
cooperation," he said participating in the resumed
debate on the demands for grants of the External Affairs
Ministry.

Highlighting the "dubious role" of the United States in
China, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka and the Indian
Ocean, Mr Gupta asked the Government to strictly stick
"to the path we had already chosen in our foreign
relations" and give up its decision to have any coopera-
tion with the Americans "as it might land us in difficulties."

Mr Gupta said the Americans were also known the world
over for imposition of rigid conditions on any country
seeking defence help. They gave no guarantee for the
supply of spare parts nor provided production facilities
for the recipient countries.

The United States was fully backing the military regime
in Pakistan with sophisticated weapons and Pakistan's
collusion and complicity with the terrorists had also been
established without any doubt, he said.

The US had also propped up Israel which has time and again blatantly misused its military strength on several occasions, the latest being the killing of PLO leader Abu Jihad. The US involvement in South Africa and the number of African National Congress leader Dulcie in September in Paris recently were all pointers of brazen state terrorism. "With what credibility does India propose to entertain cooperation with such people," he asked.

"This move will not do good to our image abroad but would only embroil us in further controversies," he said.

Emphasising the need for a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean, Mr Gupta said India should take the initiative in calling a conference of all the littoral states to evolve guidelines on demilitarising the area. If possible, India should also take up with the United Nations the problem of proliferation of naval bases in the ocean and the role of the United States and the United Kingdom in this regard.

Referring to Sri Lankan, Mr Gupta said the IPKF should not be kept there indefinitely as it would become counter-productive in the long run. No effort should be spared to ensure that the fighting stopped in Sri Lanka and a negotiated settlement found to bring peace in the island nation.

Mr Saifuddin Ahmed (AGP) asked the Government to snap diplomatic ties with Pakistan in view of its support to terrorists in Punjab.

Gandhi, Pant, Others

46001477 New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English
21 Apr 88 p 5

[Text] Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on Wednesday told the Lok Sabha that he had received no assurance from US President Ronald Reagan that there would be a cut in the arms supply to Pakistan following solution to the Afghan problem.

Mr Gandhi made the clarification during question hour when Mr Raghuma Reddy referred to a statement of the Prime Minister implying that there was an understanding between him and the US President that the arms flow to Pakistan would stop after the Afghan problem was resolved.

The Prime Minister said, "I think, there is some misunderstanding—what I had said was that we were made to understand that the arms being supplied to Pakistan were primarily due to the tension in Afghanistan and the threat that Pakistan was facing from that tension."

The Government shared the concern of the members on the continuous and uninterrupted stock-piling of arms by Pakistan and on the possibility of the continued flow of arms from the US even after the Geneva agreement on Afghanistan, Mr Gandhi said.

Defence Minister K.C. Pant told members that the Government was maintaining a constant watch on acquisition of sophisticated arms by neighbouring countries that had a bearing on the nation's security. He assured the members that all efforts would be made to meet by eventuality that may arise with regard to the security of the country.

Mr Raghuma Reddy wanted to know the steps taken by the Government to meet the threat posed by the US Government's decision.

He also drew the Government's attention to a newspaper report which said that the US had decided to "beef up Pak air power." Mr Pant replied that the reporter had drawn attention to the possibility of Pakistan receiving 11 F-16 A jet fighters and other weapons.

The report also said that Pak Navy was likely to receive three P-3C Orion maritime surveillance aircraft whose first instalment may be received by the beginning of 1989, along with a number of anti-ship and anti-submarine missiles. The arms package also might include submarine-launched harpoon missiles, the report suggested.

Mr G.G. Swell (Congress) wanted to know the possible reasons behind the US decision to continue arms to supply Pakistan even after the agreement on Afghanistan. What might be the diplomatic, political and military reasons, he wanted to know. Mr Swell also inquired whether Pakistan was going to acquire the AWACS from the US.

Mr Pant told him that 'as far as we know,' no final decision had been taken by the US to supply AWACS to Pakistan. Regarding possible reasons for continued arms supply to Pakistan, he said the US had a certain, world view and regarded Pakistan as a frontline state in their "global perspective." However, "we do not share that perspective," he stressed.

08309

Western Seaboard Naval Base To Be Modernized
46001484 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English
25 Apr 88 p 5

[Text] Bombay, April 24 (PTI): Modernisation of the Bombay naval dockyard is on the anvil, with the shipyard all set to acquire its own sophisticated micro-processor based systems and on-line computers, to match its capabilities with the growing requirements of the Indian Navy.

Stating this, the new admiral superintendent of the dockyard, Rear Admiral I.C. Rao, told PTI that the dockyard, the oldest in the country, was gearing itself to provide the needed facilities to the vast array of naval fleet, to keep them afloat and carry out repairs as and when required."

He likened repairs and modernization works as being akin to "making new ships out of old ones."

The yard, the primary naval base on the western sea board, providing material and logistic support to the fleet, would also have a string of workshops for maintenance of machinery and other components used in modern ships like diesel engines, air-conditioning machinery, electric motors, etc., Admiral Rao said.

Today, the dockyard, with the help of its 99 work centres, undertakes maintenance and repair works of frigates, minesweepers, aircraft carriers, the "Sankush and Shishumar submarines" (search and kill submarines), "INS Chakra—the nuclear-powered submarine inducted recently into the naval fleet, missile destroyers, helicopter carrier frigates, missile crafts and missile boats. About 15 to 16 ships were always undergoing repairs at the dockyard, Admiral Rao said.

Besides the Bombay naval dockyard, Indian Navy ships are repaired at the Vizag naval dockyard and the base repair organisation at Cochin.

Established in 1735, the Bombay naval dockyard was started as a shipbuilding centre by Loujee Nusserwanjee at the behest of the East India Company.

Between 1736 and 1863, the dockyard built 170 war vessels for the company, 34 warships for the British Navy and 87 merchant vessels for private firms.

08309

Allegations Continue Over Alleged Submarine Deal

Defense Minister's Statement

46001479 Madras *THE HINDU* in English
22 Apr 88 p 6

[Text] New Delhi, April 21. The following is the text of the statement made by the Defence Minister, Mr K.C. Pant, in the Lok Sabha today regarding the allegation of payment of commission to Indian agents in the purchase of submarines from M/s. HDW of the Federal Republic of Germany.

As hon'ble members are aware, the then Defence Minister had, in a statement made by him in this House on April 15, 1987, given full details of the inquiries and studies ordered by the former Defence Minister in regard

to allegations connected with the purchase of submarines from Howaldtswerke Deutsche-Werft (HDW) of the Federal Republic of Germany.

To place the entire matter in the correct perspective and in chronological sequence, it is necessary to restate some basic facts.

The Ministry of Defence had signed contracts with HDW on December 11, 1981, for the acquisition of two ready-built submarines and two material packages for the construction of similar submarines in the Mazagon Dock Limited.

From late 1985, the Ministry of Defence were holding direct negotiations with the senior executives of HDW to acquire two more submarines. To ensure against the involvement of agents as well as to secure a reduction in prices, the Ministry of Defence had sought the assistance of our Embassy in Bonn which was persuading the Ministry of Defence, Federal Republic of Germany, to exercise its influence on HDW to reduce the prices earlier quoted by them for the supply of additional submarines.

Envoy Informed

As regards the negotiations for the acquisition of two additional submarines from HDW, it may be recalled that the Defence Secretary had invited the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to India to his office on November 15, 1985 and clearly informed him of the Government of India's policy of dealing with the foreign suppliers, without any involvement of agents.

The naval attache in the Indian Embassy, Bonn, had been in contact with Dr. Molitor, an official of the Ministry of Defence, Federal Republic of Germany, responsible for the sale of military equipment, and had sought a meeting with the latter in connection with the ongoing negotiations for the purchase of two additional submarines.

On February 24, 1987, Dr. Molitor met our naval attache and our Ambassador, in the Indian Embassy, Bonn. The naval attache reiterated the Government of India's policy to directly negotiate contracts with foreign suppliers without involving agents.

Formal Note

A formal note confirming this position was also given to Dr. Molitor. In his discussions with the Ambassador regarding the supply of additional submarines, Dr. Molitor was reported to have said that HDW was being persuaded to further bring down their earlier quoted price.

However, problems might arise on account of seven per cent commission payable to Indian agents of HDW, under an opened agreement.

The Ambassador reiterated the Government of India's policy of negotiating directly with the foreign suppliers, without the involvement of agents, and suggested to Dr. Molitor to take up the matter afresh with HDW.

Subsequent to the aforesaid discussions, our Ambassador sent a communication, on February 24, 1987, to keep the Government informed.

On February 28, 1987, the message received from our Ambassador was put up on file to the then Defence Minister and was received in his office on March 3, 1987. Over a week later, on March 11, 1987, the then Defence Minister ordered that the matter should be referred to the Directorate of Enforcement, Ministry of Finance, for investigation of FERA violations to CBDT, Ministry of Finance, for income-tax violations and to the Economic Intelligence Bureau, Ministry of Finance, for carrying out a systematic study of the modus operandi of Indian and foreign agents.

He further directed that a copy of the agreement should be obtained from HDW and efforts made to beat down the prices.

As hon'ble members are aware, efforts to obtain a sizable reduction in prices were being made by the Government for well over a year.

In this context, information received from our Ambassador was very useful and had to be purposely employed to achieve the aforesaid objective.

As confidential inquiries had to be made into the allegation and negotiations pursued directly with HDW without involvement of agents to lower the prices and as the communication received from our Ambassador was secret, the information contained therein was rightly not made public.

The papers were put up to the then Defence Minister second time on March 24, 1987 along with a draft letter from the Defence Ministry to the Finance Secretary.

However, it was not till April 9, 1987, five weeks after the then Defence Minister first got the file, that he recorded another minute, in which, in addition to reiterating his previous instructions, he also directed the setting up of a committee under the Defence Secretary to study the modus operandi of Indian and foreign agents, review existing procedures, suggest necessary steps for their elimination from defence transactions.

He also noted that the Defence Secretary had mentioned that the Indian agent is most probably the Hindujas. He directed that, after due confirmation, fullest action should be taken against them.

Premature Publicity

On the same day, i.e., April 9, 1987, he personally arranged to issue a press note mentioning the fact of an inquiry into the matter and purporting to relate to the substance of information received from the Indian Embassy.

During the five weeks since he had first seen the file, no fresh facts had come to the notice of the then Defence Minister but, for reasons best known to him, he chose to prematurely give publicity to this sensitive information. It is not easy to see what prompted him to do this. Nevertheless, all inquiries directed by the then Defence Minister have been carried out by the Government.

The then Defence Minister had ordered the following action:

1. The Directorate of Enforcement, Ministry of Finance, should be asked to investigate possible FERA violations.
2. The CBDT, Ministry of Finance, should inquire into possible income-tax violations, and
3. The Economic Intelligence Bureau, Ministry of Finance, should undertake a systematic study of the modus operandi of Indian and foreign agents.

Subsequently, he had also directed that a committee under the chairmanship of the Defence Secretary should report on the modus operandi of foreign and Indian agents in defence purchases.

Details of Action

The details of the action actually taken by the Government are as follows:

1. Specific inquiries into possible FERA and income tax violations were made by the Directorate of Enforcement and the Central Board of Direct Taxes, respectively.
2. The Economic Intelligence Bureau have carried out a study of the modus operandi of agents, Indian and foreign.
3. The committee under the chairmanship of the Defence Secretary has submitted its report on the modus operandi of foreign and Indian agents in defense purchases, making recommendations on its various terms of reference.

In the circumstances in which they were placed, by the premature publicity given to the matter by the then Defence Minister and for want of valid leads the investigative agencies of the Ministry of Finance were not able to make headway.

Consequently, an inter-minister team, led by the Central Bureau of Investigation and comprising Director Enforcement (Ministry of Finance), Director of Inspection (Investigation), Income Tax (Ministry of Finance) and Joint Secretary (Navy) (Ministry of Defence), visited the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom from October 25 to November 4, 1987.

The CBI has made detailed confidential inquiries into the matter with the assistance of the investigative agencies of the Ministry of Finance. In addition, Government have directly corresponded with the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and the management of HDW to ascertain the facts.

The inquiries made in this case sought to answer the following questions:

1. Were there any FERA violations?
2. Were there any violations of income-tax laws?
3. Was there any agreement between HDW and its agents regarding payment of commission? If so, what was its nature?
4. Was any commission paid to any agent? If so, the amount paid by HDW, the mode of payment and full details of recipients?
5. Specifically, did the Hindujas act as the agent of HDW and did they, in that capacity, receive any payments from HDW?

In the Ministry of Defence, the entire record pertaining to the acquisition of two SSK submarines and two material packages of such submarines from HDW was thoroughly scrutinised. We found that at no stage had there been any agents in the negotiations with HDW which had been conducted directly with the senior executives of the company.

Nonetheless, the matter was taken up with the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on June 12, 1987. The Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany in Bonn replied on July 27, 1987 that the matter could be clarified only through direct contact with HDW and further, that the Federal Government did not have any information in the matter.

As regards the reported conversation between Dr. Molitor and the Indian Ambassador, the Foreign Office said that Dr. Molitor had "received without comment a letter from the Indian Ambassador confirming the Indian position on commission payment and passed the letter on to the HDW." The Ministry of Defence of the Federal Republic of Germany, who were also addressed, sent a similar reply.

HDW, who were addressed on June 27, 1987, replied on July 9, 1987 that the information regarding payment of seven per cent commission to Indian agents had surprised them. The information, they added, was not correct and could only have been caused by a misunderstanding. HDW stated that the negotiations in regard to the submarine contract of December 11, 1981 had been held directly with the Indian Government and no Indian agents were engaged.

They further informed that they had engaged only the Globtech Company, with effect from June 1, 1982, on a monthly retainer of DM 6000, and that this had been notified to the Chief of the Naval Staff on September 22, 1982. HDW also forwarded a copy of the 'contract signed by them with Globtech.

In a further communication dated November 27, 1987, HDW declared categorically that no commission was paid to any Indian or non-Indian agent in India or abroad.

I am placing on the table of the House a complete set of the Government's correspondence with HDW and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany as well as a copy of the message received from our Ambassador. A copy of the press note issued on April 9, 1987, released by the then Defence Minister is also laid on the table of the House.

After thorough and detailed inquiries made by the investigative agencies of the Government, which included searches of 16 Indian companies, firms and individuals known to be agents of foreign suppliers of defence equipment, and discussions with the Indian Ambassador in Bonn, our naval attache in Bonn, the Chairman HDW and Dr. Molitor in the Ministry of Defence, Federal Republic of Germany, the Directorate of Enforcement, the Central Board of Direct Taxes and the CBI have come to the following conclusions.

- I. There is no evidence of any FERA violations.
- II. There is no evidence of any violation of income tax laws.
- III. There is no evidence to indicate that HDW had an Indian agent for the December 1981 contract for the supply of submarines.
- IV. In respect of the offer received from HDW as well as the negotiations with HDW, no Indian agent or representative was at any time working on behalf of the firm.
- V. There is no evidence to link Hindujas with the HDW contract.

Government have received the reports tendered by the Director General, Economic, Intelligence Bureau, on the modus operandi of Indian and foreign agents and that of the committee under the chairmanship of the Defence

Secretary on Indian agents in defence purchases and its various other terms of reference. These reports are under consideration of the Government.

Government have made all efforts to inquire into the allegations. All possible leads were followed up. The allegations have been found to have no basis. Accordingly, Government have decided to treat the matter as closed.—PTI

V.P. Singh's 'Disclosure'
46001479 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
25 Apr 88 p 1

[Excerpt] New Delhi, April 24—At a time when the Rajiv Gandhi Government is facing a barrage of charges on the HDW submarine deal, Mr V.P. Singh today added to the Prime Minister's embarrassment by making public today a part of his conversation with Mr Gandhi on the inquiry into the submarine deal when Mr Singh was a senior member of the Union Cabinet.

The explosive disclosure came in a four-page statement released to the Press simultaneously here and in Lucknow.

The Prime Minister had, according to the former Defence Minister, told Mr Singh in the Prime Minister's Parliament office that nothing would come out of his inquiry as the company (HDW), which supplied defence equipment to many countries and paid kick-backs to many a President and Prime Minister, would never disclose the name of the middlemen.

Mr Singh said: "When the Prime Minister sent for me and I met him in his Parliament office he was very angry. He told me that nothing will come out in the inquiry, I asked why so? Anyway it is part of our duty to inquire when we come across a case of violation of rules?"

"He said that this company supplies defence equipment to many countries and pays kick-backs to many a President and Prime Minister. If it discloses the names of the middlemen all its orders will be cancelled."

"It seemed a very strange argument to one who feels that the interests of one's own country are paramount rather than that of a foreign firm."

"Thus that nothing was to come out of this departmental inquiry was made clear by the Prime Minister himself on the very first day, hence what the Defence Minister (Mr K.C. Pant) has said is no surprise for me."

Mr Singh alleged that the Hindujas "were involved" in taking commission for the HDW submarine deals covering past as well as future deals.

He said that the Defence Minister, Mr K.C. Pant, should have resigned "rather than be a party to a cover-up."

"I can never in my life accept that no commission was paid in the submarine deal. The defence secretary, Mr S.K. Bhatnagar, personally told me that the supplier company, HDW, is not reducing the price, because it is under an open ended obligation to pay commission, that is on all supplies of submarines to India the company has to pay commission to the party concerned irrespective of any price reductions."

"This obligation to pay commission covered past as well as future supplies. He also told me that to the best of his information, it was the Hindujas who were involved in the commission."

"Our Ambassador in West Germany sent a coded secret telex about the above deal which was received by the Prime Minister's office also. But no action was taken at that end. West Germany is an important country and senior officials are posted as Ambassadors there."

"Ambassadors are responsible and discreet persons. They would transmit information based on authentic sources and only after fair scrutiny."

"Why has not the Government of India made public the telex sent by our Ambassador and all records connected with it including records of negotiation with HDW?"

"If the Ambassador has sent wrong information and played into foreign hands, then what action has the Government taken against him? Mr Bhure Lal was hauled up just for trying to get information from a foreign agency against economic offenders and the Thakkar Natrajan commission was instituted."

"Why not a commission in this case, if actually wrong information has been sent by the Ambassador? The Government dare not to do that because it will totally expose the Government. The Defence Minister has boasted that "the Government have made all efforts to inquire into the allegations. All possible leads were followed."

"Did they raid the Hindujas who were prime suspect? This being a departmental inquiry, results of the same are based on the real will of the Government. The Enforcement Directorate had put its hands up on the ground that it had not the personnel enough to inquire into the matter. Now the Government says no evidence was found. Did it ever have any will to obtain evidence?"

"The Government had said that there is no evidence to indicate that HDW had an Indian agent" for the December, 1981, contract for the supply of submarines.

IRAN

Transfer of Land Ownership to Peasants

46400115c Tehran ETTEL'A'AT in Persian
18 Apr 88 p 4

[Report on interview with a member of the land transfer commission of Central Province by a CENTRAL NEWS UNIT reporter on the anniversary of the establishment of the seven-member land commission in Arak]

[Text] Arak—In order to develop agriculture, since the victory of the Islamic revolution, about 600,000 hectares of the country's uncultivated land have been cultivated by the seven-member land transfer committees. By comparison, before the victory of the Islamic revolution, only 20,000 hectares of land in the country had been added to the cultivated lands for agricultural products. A member of the seven-member land transfer commission of Central Province, who spoke on the occasion of the anniversary of the establishment of these commissions with the reporter of the CENTRAL NEWS UNIT in Arak, made the above statement and added: The seven-member land transfer commission of Central Province has thus far placed 16,883 hectares of uncultivated land at the disposal of 1,727 rural families in 214 joint-ownership cooperatives.

Pointing out that the transferred land has been cultivated with products such as wheat and barley, he said: More than 1.4 billion rials in loans have been paid to villagers under the supervision of this committee, and 4,920 hectares of land have been transferred to applicants for the development of industrial projects.

This official added: The transfer of nearly 7,500 hectares of land belonging to escaped landlords to 750 rural families is being implemented, and final deeds will be issued for the distributed plots.

He added: During this period, in addition to the distribution of 150 tractors, 234 water pumps, 260 agricultural machines, and the digging of 233 wells, necessary agricultural training has also been offered to the villagers.

In conclusion, this official pointed out that the land transfer commission of Central Province will lease land to persons with projects in the area of fish farming and fodder cultivation and said: In the course of this year, we have identified 50,000 hectares of arable uncultivated land which we will gradually transfer in the form of joint partnership cooperatives.

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1500 Hectares of Land Given to Farmers in Kurdistan

46400115b Tehran ETTEL'A'AT in Persian
17 Apr 88 p 4

[Text] Sanandaj—The official registered deeds for 1,500 hectares of agricultural lands included in the temporary cultivation land law were given to 60 farmers and settlers who had no land in Bijar on the anniversary of the establishment of the land transfer commissions by the representative of the imam in Kurdistan.

According to the CENTRAL NEWS UNIT reporting from Sanandaj, during these ceremonies, the announcement was made: The lands included in the temporary cultivation land law for the Province of Kurdistan to be transferred to farmers in this province in accordance with the ratification of the Majlis and the Cabinet in 1365 [21 March 1986-20 March 1987] comprise nearly 150,000 hectares, of which, yesterday, official registered deeds for 1,500 hectares were given to the settlers and farmers of Bijar who have contracts with the land transfer commissions of Kurdistan Province.

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Farmers To Receive Ownership of Uncultivated Lands

46400115a Tehran ETTEL'A'AT in Persian
16 Apr 88 p 4

[Report on interview with Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Ajam, Shar' magistrate of the commission for land transfer of Mashhad center, by IRNA in Bojnord; date not specified]

[Text] Bojnord—The ownership deeds to more than 800,000 hectares of temporary cultivation lands throughout the country, of which 31,000 hectares are in northern Khorasan, will be issued to farmers by the end of this year.

According to IRNA, Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Ajam, the Shar' magistrate of the seven-member commission for land transfer of Mashhad center, who traveled to Bojnord to distribute 44 ownership deeds for plots of temporary cultivation lands of Samalqan of Bojnord, made the above statement in an interview with IRNA and said: In order to support farmers, through the implementation of the Majlis ratification on 8/8/65 [10/30/86], the ownership deeds for 31,000 hectares of temporary cultivation lands which had not been legally cleared up to now and had been temporarily placed at the disposal of farmers will be transferred to farmers by the end of this year.

He added: In the first phase, 44 oppressed farmers of Samalqan of Bojnord area, who have been oppressed generation after generation, now have land and water.

The Shar' magistrate of the seven-member commission for land transfer added: In the 1366 [1987-88] agricultural year, 149 farmers in the villages of Khorasan

Province, with 3,160 hectares of temporary cultivation land at their disposal, succeeded in harvesting 23,874 tons of wheat, 89,265 tons of barley, 12,689 tons of beets, 4,074 tons of cotton, 3,028 tons of fodder and 24,631 tons of melon products.

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PAKISTAN

Power Games of JI, Jiye Sind, MQM Analyzed
46560028 Islamabad HURMAT in Urdu
16-22 Mar 88 pp 8-14

[Article by Navik: "Agitating Problems of Karachi"]

[Excerpts] In Hyderabad and the inner Sind cracks have started to form in the verbal agreements of an unnatural alliance made between Sind's two nationalist organizations, the MQM and the Jiye Sind Front. Due to these agreements, these agreements, for some period of time, there was considerable mutual affection between the workers of these two organizations. Loud slogans of the Sindhi-Mohajir unity were also heard in the educational institutions.

Here and there joint operations and programs were also outlined for beating up Punjabi students. Now there is disagreement. The reason for discord is that soon after the establishment of the MQM, the workers of Jiye Sind were issued a directive through a pamphlet in which the leaders of Jiye Sind, while throwing light on the policy of unity and cooperation with the MQM, wrote that the Sindhi nationalists regarded both the Punjabis and Mohajirs as their adversaries. It said the Punjabis were a black cobra, while the Makka, that is the Mohajirs, were a vile viper. Our policy was to crush both of them. But, as long as they were united, they would be forceful. Therefore, at first, their unity should be terminated. Both these rivals of Sind were shedding each others blood in Karachi and Hyderabad. Our task was thus becoming easier and our policy was successful. The workers of Jiye Sind, should take aside the Mohajir students in groups of twos or fours and then give them a good beating. But they should remember to curse only Punjabis. When interrogated before the Mohajir leaders the following day, they should immediately ask for forgiveness by saying that we made a mistake. We beat them up thinking that they were Punjabis.

Some of the Mohajir and Punjabi students also got hold of this pamphlet. Through them, this pamphlet, with its contents in the original and translated form passing through the weekly HURMAT and certain other weekly and daily newspapers of Karachi reached the people of entire Sind. After that, for a short while, the Jiye Sind stopped taking action in this regard. However, as soon as the MQM, after gaining historic victories in Karachi and Hyderabad in the local elections, acquired control over the politics of both the cities, the leaders of Jiye Sind for the first time realized their mistake, they saw how

inadvertently the Mohajirs of Sind, through unity, had acquired enormous power in Hyderabad and Karachi, Jiye Sind could not dream of having so much power. The victories of the Mohajirs have given them a boost in inner Sind also. The leaders of Jiye Sind always thought that Karachi and Hyderabad were strongholds of parties like the Jamaat-e Islami, the Jamiat-e Ulema-e Pakistan, the Tehrik-e Istiqlal and the People's Party and in these cities, the MQM, coming into existence as a very small organization, would continue to follow their directions. They calculated that in some parts of inner Sind, Jiye Sind would stage a demonstration or protest in inner Sind, in big cities like Karachi and Hyderabad also, some of the workers of the MQM, upon their instructions, would stand with some banners at Regal Chowk and Latifabad No 10. Besides, the Mohajir nationalist students, like Jiye Sind students, would continue to be a headache for the political parties of religious and national level and spread hatred against the Punjabis. The leaders of Jiye Sind were not altogether wrong in these terms. Before all this big progressive intellectuals of the Mohajirs had on several occasions tried to bring together the Mohajirs of Karachi on the basis of pure nationalism. Maps of Mohajirstan were also printed in this connection. In these maps, the Sind river was proclaimed as the Sindhudesh, with which Mahajirstan was declared to have a natural border. In Hyderabad, Amjad Lodhi's was made to hoist a flag of Mohajirstan. However, the Mohajir nation concept in the name of nationalism remained stagnant as ever. The leaders with the philosophy and slogans of nationalism went in the background, and the people even forgot their names. Even Mr Altaf Hussain, along with his colleagues, for years preached Mohajir nationalism in Karachi University but He did not gain success. So much so that Mr Altaf Hussain had to hide himself from the students supporting Jamaat-e Islami and many times he had to change his routes to come to the Karachi University Campus. Whenever he set up a stall in name of Mohajir students, the Jamiat destroyed it.

According to Jiye Sind, our nation never follows a rejected leader. Therefore they calculated that even if Altaf Hussain returned to the field shouting slogans of the Mohajir nationalism, he would not achieve any enormous success. Keeping all this in mind, therefore, all minor and major leaders of Jiye Sind including Mr G. M. Syed went on providing MQM with verbal and press support. It is possibly Mr Altaf Hussain was even given some efficacious pointers for propagating nationalism. It is certain, however, that Jiye Sind had never thought of MQM's current success. The crowds of people in Altaf's meetings in Karachi and Hyderabad was considered as being there due to transitory enthusiasm and zeal. With the arrest of Altaf and his companions in the bloody riots in Karachi and Hyderabad, the only perception that came to the forefront was that Mr Altaf Hussain and his comrades who were newcomers in politics would be unable to gain control over so many problems and the popularity he had acquired would diminish. During that very period, however, the Sind government clashed the

force of the Jamaat-e Islami. Thus, all the issues started to resolve by themselves in such a way that Altaf Hussain came out of prison as a successful and victorious leader. The dreams seen of the progressive Mohajir intellectuals appeared to be fulfilled now in the form of the MQM and they, too, began providing MQM with support and advice.

However, the bonfires of prejudice and hatred went on burning in Karachi and Hyderabad. Innocent citizens went on being consumed by the fire of hatred. Poor people's houses were burned the wage-earners became victims of the bullets of prejudice. MQM's magic started speaking through the people. In the local elections, banners were raised over MQM's success and victory in the local elections in Karachi and Hyderabad. MQM realized the need for peace in Karachi and Hyderabad, so that in a stable environment they could fulfill the promises they had made to the people, and thus gain people's confidence to the extent that, along with these two cities, the Mohajirs of the inner Sind could also make the candidates nominated by the party victorious in the elections to the national and provincial assemblies. The Mohajirs are in majority in Hyderabad city, and the newly elected mayor also of that city, Aftab Sheikh, is a cultured and experienced individual; the deputy mayor, Rashid, is a realistic and candid person. Both these personalities were successful in establishing peace there. They entrusted the responsibility of safeguarding the people of the opposing factions to MQM workers. In Hyderabad the MQM has devoted all its attention toward the development of the city. Contrary to that, Karachi which enjoys the honor of being mini Pakistan Every ethnic faction living these numbers in hundreds of thousands, and as a result criminals, especially a large number of drug dealers, are found there. The MQM failed to establish peace there. Whenever the Selfish drug dealers got an opportunity, they destroyed all the sincere efforts of the MQM, because a peaceful environment Karachi meant a message of death to them. There was another factor involved in the failure of the MQM. Right from the start, it was commonly believed that the agents of drug mafia on drug dealers were only the Pushto-speaking people. That perception was utterly wrong, because the abode of drugs in Karachi was once Lyari and other such backward settlements, where non-Pushto-speaking people from Uginous factions used to deal in drugs. Now the drugs come from the North West Frontier Province. The Pushto-speaking people could be involved in transporting them to Karachi, but these numbers could be counted on fingers. So far among all those people who have been caught smuggling drugs on the route between Peshawar and Karachi, there are men and women of every faction among them. They also held high posts in the government. Anyhow, it is wrong to regard every Pushto-speaking person in Karachi an agent of the drug mafia, because in this way the criminals and drug dealers also easily get an opportunity to conceal

themselves among the crowd of virtuous and hardworking laborers. Whenever they get a chance, the drug dealers inflict a strong blow to the law and order of Karachi city and again hide themselves again among the law abidme people.

The MQM needs to search for the drug dealers and addicts persons in the areas and of their influence sector and be vigilant over them. The addicts either against their wishes or to fulfill their drug addiction, knowingly or being in the stupor of drugs, get used by the agents of the drug mafia. These factors attack each other for supremacy and establishing clout over respective sectors. They encourage their people to engage in fighting and firing. But the end result of all these measures should not be linguistic riots and curfew.

The MQM has risen from the streets of Karachi and Hyderabad as a really new political force. Now this force instead of ruling the people of both the cities with street politics, wishes to rule them through the political power of the Parliament so that until the general elections, it can further strengthen its political roots among the people. In this connection the constructive, developmental, social and welfare program presented by the MQM and the manner in which its workers have arrayed themselves against the evil of drug dealing, hooliganism and elements receiving the juga, i.e. bully tax in their regions, have had a visible effect those who support evil can now foresee their own death. Those who collected juga tax by bullying, cheating and beating see their highhandidness and villainy coming to an end. They feel the destruction of their gambling dens and abodes of drug dealing. Instead of luxuries and lustfulness, they see poverty, starvation, jail cells and sad plight advancing towards them. The corrupt individuals of the police and the bribe-taking officers of other government agencies could behold their weekly allowances ceasing. Thus all forces of evil, corruption, bribery and crimes joined together. They could perceive their death every where in Karachi in the form of MQM workers. Obviously under such circumstances the only result could be the one in which these evil forces could discern their life; no matter how many innocent lives they ended to achieve this goal. They incited the buried spark of ethnic riots, and once again changed it into a blaze. The peace of Karachi once again went up in flames. The officials who collect allowances have once again started to play the old tune of drug mafia and the secret hands. The matter was already beyond MQM's control. Perhaps they could show no more patience. For the first time the MQM demanded the governor and chief minister of Sind, Mr Ghaus Ali Shah, to resign. Immediately upon this demand, the provincial government comprehended the entire situation. The chief minister of Sind, in his capacity as the leader of the provincial administration, made a determination to destroy drug mafia and announced to fight against them. He also arrested some of the notorious drug dealers who were repeatedly pointed out by the people. Perceiving the anger of the provincial government and the chief minister, the majority of the drug

dealers went underground. It is possible that these people for some time will remain underground and the MQM will gain an opportunity to work in a peaceful karachi environment.

As far as the MQM is concerned, it should not waste its strength by fighting with the Punjabis and the Pathans in Karachi and Hyderabad. Instead of making various factions its adversaries, it should make them its friends and sympathizers. Who has stopped the MQM if it desires to participate in something with the Punjabis and Pathans of Karachi, or if any of its workers wishes to drive a rickshaw or taxi? Many Mohajirs are already engaged in this business and have very pleasant relations with their brethren drivers. If someone wishes to drive a mini bus, who has prevented him from that? Who has stopped them from being butlers in small hotels and repairing or from polishing shoes? The fact of the matter is that the people with whom has the MQM confrontations are all counted among the citizens of Karachi who are provide these services, whereas the big industrialists reside in the bungalows of Clifton and Defense where there is always law and order. If their factories get burnt, they are reimbursed for all past and future losses. The insurance agent might have to be paid 50,000 rupees instead of 10,000, but he will change one roll of fabric into a warehouse full of fabrics.

The MQM will have to struggle with the government agencies in order to gain its rights and to secure employments for its unemployed youths. The situation in the inner Sind is that in any government department, among the lower grade employees one can see only 2 percent to 5 percent Punjabis and Pathans 10 percent to 15 percent Mohajirs, at the most 20 percent real Sindhis, i.e., people of the Smaat [as printed] nationality, while the remaining 60 percent of the top and lower grade employees are connected with various Baluch tribes. The situation in farming is similar. There are not more than 5 percent Punjabi farmers in the entire Sind. Nearly 5 percent of the farmers are Mohajirs, most of whose land is under share cropping. Hardly 20 percent of the land is owned by the true Sindhi farmers. The remaining 60 to 70 percent of the land is owned by the Baluch farmers. All big farmers of Sind are either Baluch or Sayed. Similarly, the Baluch and the Sayed also control the politics of inner Sind. The All Sind Sayed Association came into existence due to the efforts of G. M. Syed's son. It safeguards the political, social and economical affairs of the Sayeds in Sind, because they are aware of the fact that when the real nationalities of Sind analyze the exploiting forces with subtlety, it is possible that the direction of the hatred that exists against the people of Punjab today will shift towards them; due to big land-ownerships in the rural areas. Perhaps, this is the very reason that the Baluch and Sayed students have control over the Jiye Sind students' wing, and they are extremely active. Everyone with political wisdom now understands the fact that the MQM will demand 50 percent of its share in employment and admissions in inner Sind.

Obviously, in such a situation, the interests of the Baluch students will be adversely affected. Right now, nearly 75 percent to 80 percent quota of employment belongs to them. If the MQM gets its share, then they will have to leave the 20 percent extra share plus 20 percent more, that is, 40 percent altogether. On the political level the MQM is now capable of presenting this justifiable demand. It can also stage a protest for this objective. This is the reason that in inner Sind in most educational institutions there have been direct bloody confrontations between the students supporting the MQM and the Jiye Sind. A very severe contention exists every where between these two organizations. The mutual cooperation that existed previously can be witnessed no more. In inner Sind the MQM is getting somewhat weak mentally because they had earlier separated the Punjabi students from themselves. For survival and safety, the MQM has founded a new students organization called the NSO. With regard to the student politics, after the clash between Jiye Sind and the MQM, it seems that now the students of Jiye Sind will make the Punjabi students their allies instead of the MQM. The Jiye Sind constitution states that any person who has been residing in Sind before 1958 and is going to live and die there is a true Sindhi. But the fact is that long before the establishment of Pakistan, when no one had even dreamed or thought of Pakistan, G. M. Syed himself brought the majority of the Punjabi inhabitants in Sind from Amritsar, Ludhiana and Jalandhar and settled them in Sind. Now their life and death is connected with Sind. It is thus believed that either G. M. Syed himself or the policy makers of Jiye Sind would whole-heartedly include the Punjabi population in Jiye Sind. When a delegation met with the president in connection with the excesses of Jiye Sind, he advised the Punjabi members of the delegation to see G. M. Syed and tell him that he brought and settled them in Sind, they did not come by themselves. Anyhow, with the clash between Jiye Sind and the MQM, a new situation would be created in the educational institutions of inner Sind. The Punjabi-Mohajir unity and affection had already existed in the cities and villages. Now once again the Mohajir students, after quitting Jiye Sind are extending their hand of affection towards the Punjabi students. Misunderstandings between both the groups are being removed. The leader of the MQM, Altaf Hussain in one of his articles, offered to recognize the Punjabi-speaking people of East Pakistan also as Mohajirs and invited them to join the MQM. Although this flexibility in MQM's policy has appeared later, it could produce good results in the inner Sind.

9779/9274

**Correspondent Deplores Ineffectiveness In
Curbing Smuggling**

46560034 Islamabad *HURMAT* in Urdu
7-13 Apr 88 pp 17-19

[Islamabad Diary by Dr Yasin Rizvi: "Kalashnikov Culture in Karachi"]

[Text] Whether it is the Kalashnikov rifles made in the Soviet Union or the Israel Uzi or the American M-23, the very talented weapon manufacturers in Durra Adam Khel can clone them in no time. Neither do they need permission from the original manufacturers nor get entangled in the very complex international laws about patents. The Ammunition Act of Pakistan does not bother them and officials in industry or production ministries do not have the clout to check on them. The copies of weapons made by these talented people are so good that the manufacturers in the Soviet Union, the United States, and Israel are amazed at the quality.

After all the production phases are completed, these weapons are loaded into trucks, jeeps, and buses by lawbreaking individuals and reach various cities in Pakistan. Those very custom officers who harrass people bringing a small clothes irons or plastic dinner sets from Landi Kotal let these vehicles loaded with contraband weapons go as if these were loaded with the holy water from Mecca.

A Kalashnikov or an Uzi can be bought for 6,000 rupees in Durra Adam Khel. The price goes up to 20,000 rupees per piece by the time these weapons arrive in Karachi. It is not difficult to understand the role of the highway checking system in this dramatic increase in price. We also understand that the custom officers who call someone bringing in clothes iron a smuggler do not call these Kalashnikov dealers by the same name. The children of these custom officers travel in Europe at the expense of these arm dealers. The gold bangles their wives wear, and the fancy parties that are held periodically are also "sponsored" by these dealers.

While these Kalashnikov rifles help send the children of custom officers to Europe, they also cause little children in the Karachi slums to lose their fathers. They are deprived of paternal love and, therefore, education. They end up leading a life of ignorance and poverty or go to jail. These Kalashnikovs help decorate the wrists of custom officers' wives with gold bangles, and also force poor Punjabi women to break their glass bangles and live the tragic lives as widows. These very Kalashnikov rifles help bring laughter and entertainment to custom officers' parties, but these also remove laughter from many Pakistani homes permanently. This situation is similar to the one caused by drug smuggling.

Despite all this, these worshippers of wealth allow entry of these trucks loaded with weapons at Durra Adam Khel. This shameful system of smuggling is being carried out successfully because of mutual cooperation between smugglers and government officers. Bribery is being practiced openly even though our prime minister had promised its eradication in his five-point program announced 2 and 1/2 years ago.

The smuggled weapons are not only available in Karachi, Hyderabad, and Sukkur, but almost all over the country. Sons and husbands are dying. Young men die before they

marry. Daughters lose their fathers and are forced to grow old in their paternal homes. Some people are dying, and some people seeing this scary development are living like the dead. Government officers and smugglers, however, are carrying on their game surrounded by this deplorable situation. They appear not to believe in retribution and the account they have to give when they die.

Against this background politicians in Islamabad discuss the release of "political" prisoners from the martial law era, or discuss Senate elections. They also talk about municipal elections and complain about the uniform that our president wears. They repeat their demand to hold elections before 1990. It appears that the problems caused by smuggling of Kalashnikovs and drugs is not an "issue" worth discussing. Perhaps our leaders do not care about this issue at all.

These dirty things that cause intoxication or death have destroyed peace in Karachi. In November 1986, Sayed Ghaus Ali Shah took firm action and totally destroyed Sohrab Goth. This effort, however, proved a failure and an embarrassment as the friends of smugglers in the government betrayed him. Those responsible for this dreadful situation were warned off before "Operation Cleanup" even began. Contraband weapons and drugs were moved away before the raid. Karachi's security officers were surprised and very embarrassed even before this historic effort to curb criminal activities took place. In September 1986, three Palestinians hijacked an American airplane. They had picked Karachi as the site of their operation because "weapons were available here and could be bought as easily as candy."

Operation Sohrab Goth took place only 2 months after the hijacking incident. During this period and since then Karachi has been subjected to numerous incidents of murder and arson. Divisive regional politics has become deep rooted. Even relatives and friends have begun to attack each other. Smuggling is still being carried out as usual. The only difference is an increase in bribery rates. The smugglers never expressed any regrets at their black deeds, and the cooperating government employees did not show any embarrassment.

While all this was happening some supporters of Khomeini came from Teheran and attacked Iranians living in Karachi. Thirteen of these attackers were apprehended. They admitted to the crimes of illegally entering the country, disturbing the peace, causing injuries to other persons, possession of illegal weapons, and attempted murder. For some unknown reasons the government of Baluchistan released them after keeping them in jail from 8 July to 12 January. They returned to Iran where they were decorated as national heroes.

During this time the government announced several times that all foreigners living in Karachi and Quetta would be deported. It was also announced that all foreigners in Karachi would be required to register with

the police. However, just like most other government plans these announcements and plans were never put into practice. Recently, Haji Mohammad Haneef Tayyab, federal minister of development, announced that there were over 500,000 foreigners living in Karachi. He also attributed Karachi's unrest to these foreigners and announced that they would be sent out of Karachi soon.

We do not understand why the minister of development had to make this statement which should have been issued either by the interior minister, Naseem Ahmad Aheer, or by the minister of labor and human resources, Mr Pasha Khuhro. We do not know if the minister concerned had really ascertained that the number of foreigners in Karachi was 500,000 and if the government of Sind had enough resources to deport that large number of foreigners.

We surveyed this situation for HURMAT and learned that a large number of people from Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Afghanistan, Burma, Thailand, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, and Africa live in Karachi as "Muslims." Hundreds of them have acquired identity cards, passports, property, and even jobs by bribing government officials. No one is worried by these government announcements about requiring them to register with the police and deporting them "in the near future." Whenever a minister makes an announcement, foreigners appear to say, "I know all about these plans, I have heard them before."

Wise residents of Islamabad who care about the country and its four provinces are right when they question our ministers' habits of making baseless announcements. Even when they want to make announcements just to see their names in newspaper headlines, they should at least follow through with their promises.

Are we going to be forced to enjoy this credibility gap between the government and the people caused by this lack of action?

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Qadiani Antinational Activities Condemned
46560032 Lahore CHATAN in Urdu
7-14 Apr 88 pp 22-23

[Article by Shaheen Bhatti: "Does Pakistan Has Atomic Bomb?"]

[Text] When the prime minister took oath of his office, the first thing he did was to extend the tenure of some high ranking government officials. Munir Ahmad Khan, chairman of Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC), headed this list. This was done because Munir Ahmad Khan had been very active and PAEC just could not function without his leadership. We wonder what special clout Munir Ahmad Khan has to convince the prime minister into extending his services. What special deeds has he done? Maulana Kausar Niazi has included full

details of this in his book "aur line kat gai" ["And the Line Went Dead"]. Munir Ahmad had told the URDU DIGEST in an interview given in 1976 that he was planning to build one atomic reactor every year as well as get the atomic processing plant in operation. According to our information, there is only one atomic reactor working in the Karachi power plant. This reactor has never produced more than 175 mega-watts. Twelve years have passed since Mr Munir Ahmad made his promise and all we have is a defective reactor in Karachi. Despite all his promises and self-delusive proclamations, he never could add another atomic reactor.

More than 25 Qadianis hold important positions in the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission. One of these officers is the brother of the famous Qadiani leader Dr Abdul Salam. Worse even is the fact that the chairman of PAEC is also strongly influenced by Dr Salam. According to our sources, the tenure of the chairman of this agency was extended on Dr Salam's recommendation. There is no doubt that Qadianis do not want to see Pakistan become an atomic power. Instead, they consider it their duty to inform the Jews and Hindus about Pakistan's atomic program. Dr Salam, who was not recognized even by a liberal like Bhutto, visits Pakistan to advise his people periodically and then goes back to India.

Recently, THE SUNDAY OBSERVER exposed an Indo-Israeli plan to destroy Pakistan's atomic plants. An Israeli officer who fled Israel told the paper that Pakistan has enough high grade uranium to make three atom bombs and that Pakistan was ready to provide these bombs to Arab countries. The plan to sabotage Pakistan's atomic plant was proposed by Israel at the Indian Embassy in Paris. United States' Central Intelligence Agency has also mentioned Pakistan's ability to make three atom bombs in one of its reports.

India, according to THE SUNDAY OBSERVER report, is hesitant in helping the Israeli Air Force in attacking Pakistani atomic plants. Israel allegedly has offered to provide the Indian Air Force with bombs that can destroy the uranium plant in Kahuta. Indian leaders are hesitant in accepting this offer as they fear the safety of India's research center near Bombay in retaliatory efforts by Pakistan.

Qadianis have played a deplorable role in hurting Pakistan's atomic program and cancellation of U.S. aid to Pakistan. Their goal is to make Pakistan's top nuclear physicist, Dr Abdul Qadeer Khan, lose his credibility and be removed from the atomic project leadership. According to some reports U.S. diplomats working in the embassy in Islamabad are also involved in this conspiracy. A U.S. diplomat was heard commenting in a USIS office that the United States did not want Dr A.Q. Khan to become a national hero. Our other source revealed Pakistan's former ambassador to Belgium was also present at that meeting. Indian journalist Kuldip Nayyar's alleged interview was also part of this series of

events. This interview became possible only after Kuldip Nayyar had established friendship with Mushahid Hussain. The English daily from Islamabad [edited by Mushahid Hussain] had published several pro-Qadiani articles. The pamphlet that Qadianis published against the 1985 ordinance and distributed in other countries was mostly based on articles published in this newspaper. This pamphlet accused General Zia of depriving Pakistanis of basic human rights. The pamphlet warned Zia not to make such laws and learn from the dreadful consequences that Mr Bhutto had to face. The pamphlet condemned the ordinance by quoting from articles published in this English newspaper and speeches of leaders of Tehrik-e-Istiqlal (TI). Qadianis are advised not to mention mosques in their conversations. All these references show that this newspaper has a soft spot for Qadianis and is influenced by this group. Perhaps this relationship helped the conspiracy that resulted in the publication of Kuldip Nayyar's alleged interview. Mushahid Hussain was subjected to the wrath and hatred of the public and journalists. The owner of the newspaper, Murtaza Pooya, had to fire Mushahid Hussain. Thus the story of the editor, who was used by Kuldip Nayyar to access Dr A.Q. Khan, came to an end. The fact that General Zia sent Mushahid Hussain to Saudi Arabia for pilgrimage is noteworthy. The lobby that had tried to hurt Dr A.Q. Khan's image has united again to start another conspiracy. This lobby is working very hard to remove Dr A.Q. Khan from the public eyes. They know that Dr A.Q. Khan's personality has helped improve the morale of our people, give new courage to

our soldiers, and scare the confused leadership in India. India is afraid only of Dr A.Q. Khan's great plans. This united effort by some unruly elements against this great benefactor of our country is a cause for concern. I learned recently that journalists who love and respect Dr A.Q. Khan decided to publish special articles in his praise. This effort was thwarted by the administration in Rawalpindi and all articles and stories were confiscated. The name of Munir Ahmad Khan is being mentioned in this context. He has never contributed to the projects he was asked to lead and appears to be busy hatching such conspiracies. Why does not the prime minister ask him why a new atomic reactor is not being built every year? Why does not someone question the rationale for extending the services by 3 years of a man who had promised us a reprocessing plant but has not done anything about it?

CHATAN tried very hard to interview Mr Munir Ahmad Khan to get his side of the story. He did not agree to an interview. In other words he refused to face CHATAN. We asked him to give us a written statement if he was too busy for an interview. We even sent him a list of questions for response and talked to his public relations officer. Still, we have yet to hear from him. All we want to ask him is what is happening to the billions of dollars being spent at PAEC. What did he do besides purchasing an atomic reactor? The story of this purchase is another frightening affair. We will wait for his answer.

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